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ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON

MR. *PHILLIPS'S*

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

OF

CARDINAL *POLE*.

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HISTORY OF THE LIFE

OF

CARDINAL POLE.

BY TIMOTHY NEVE, D.D.

Rector of Middleton-Stoney, Oxfordshire.

*Neque enim, quo pacto ad initium rerum ita videmus semper
fieri, ut quælibetque res quasi accidentet, et dominibus
potestatem veritatem suam, quantum ea non tantum antequam
fuerit, sed etiam æternam esse, tam ab imperio hominibus et
possibus, rectius et nova dixerim.*

Idem Apologia Eccl. Ang. p. 114.

OXFORD,

At the CLARENDON PRESS. MDCCCLVI

Sold by DAN. PRINCE, at OXFORD; and by J. ROSSON,
Bookseller to her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager
of Wales, in New-Bond-street, London.

J. D.

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CARDINAL POLE.

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Nescimus, quo pacto ab initio rerum ita vidimus semper fieri, ut quotiescunque Deus quasi accenderet, & hominibus patefaceret veritatem suam, quamvis ea non tantum antiquissima, sed etiam æterna esset, tamen ab impiis hominibus & hostibus, recens & nova diceretur.

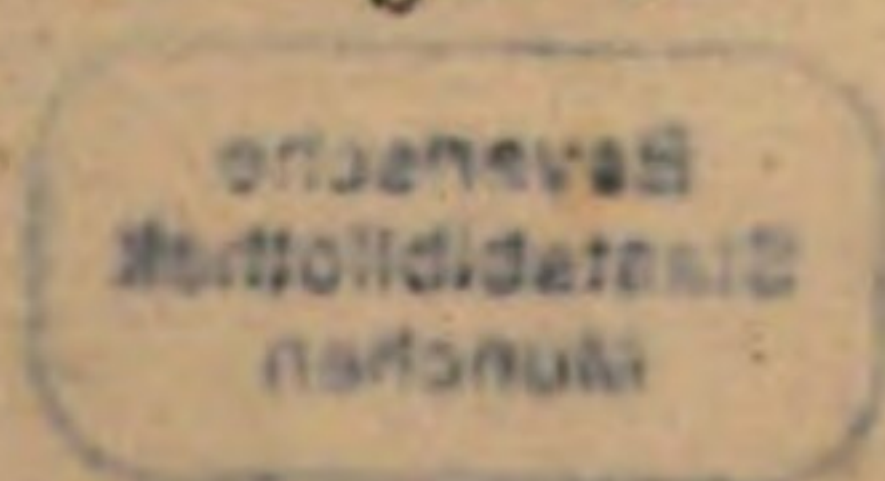
Juelli Apologia Eccles. Ang. p. 114.

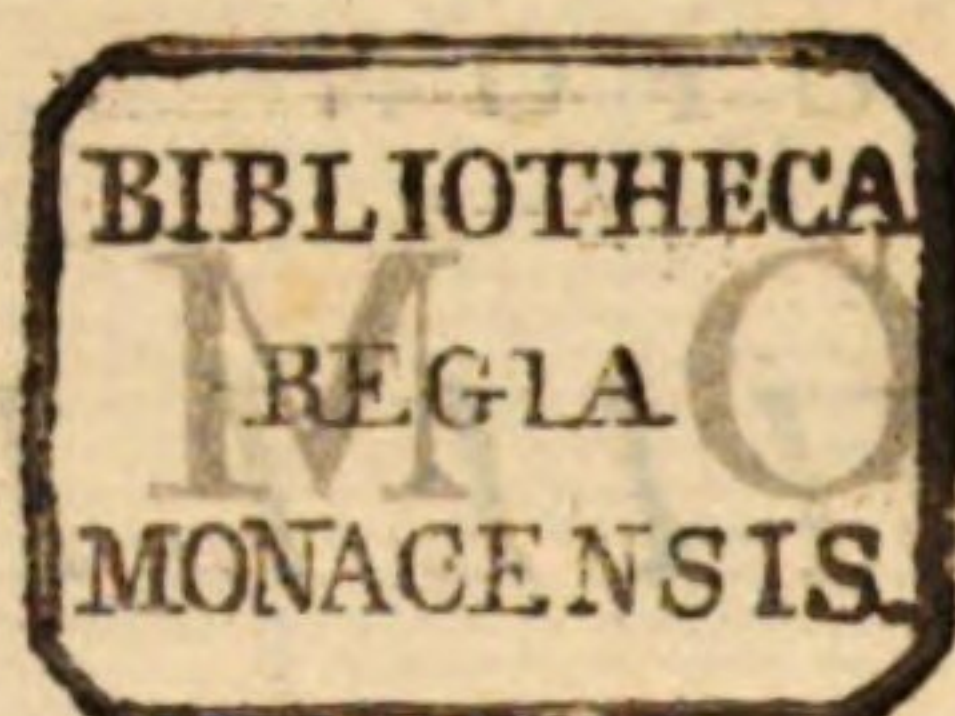
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J. M. D.





Imprimatur :

D. DURELL, Vice-Can. Oxon.

Hert. Coll. Nov. 1. 1765.

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Son and Servant

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TO HIS GRACE
THOMAS
LORD ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY,

THE following attempt to vindicate the doctrine and character of our reformers, from the false representation and injurious reflections of a late writer of the life of Cardinal *Pole*, is, with all humility and veneration,

inscribed by

HIS GRACE'S

most dutiful and obliged

Son and Servant,

TIMOTHY NEVE.

To His GRACE

THOMAS
PERFECTION

THE restless emissaries of the see of Rome, not content with the liberty of conscience indulged them, are continually reviving the controversy between their church and ours, and making encroachments upon us. Amongst the many attacks to which their eagerness hath prompted them, and which of late have been very open and indecent; there is no one, in which the exploded errors of popery are worked up in a more artful and insidious manner, than the History of the Life of Cardinal PORE, which is a labour-ed, plausible insult both upon the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of this country.

THE

P R E F A C E.

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The

P R E F A C E.

The performance, indeed, hath nothing in it, that may alarm us, or give us apprehensions of its doing mischief. But as every thing of that nature is looked upon as a kind of defiance, and, if not particularly considered, as a triumph too; the author of the following sheets has ventured to accept the challenge. How he hath acquitted himself, the reader must determine. But whatever his success may be, his endeavours are well meant; and he comforts himself with this assurance, that he hath strictly followed truth, and hath not wilfully suppressed, or disguised any thing. He is conscious, indeed, that his work wants the ornaments of style to recommend it; and that some inaccuracies of language may have slipped from him, through the greater attention paid to matter, than to words; for he hath considered himself as concerned only with historical evidence; and that matter of fact, when plainly and faithfully related, would be more acceptable to those readers,

P R E F A C E.

readers, whom alone it is his desire to please, than the gaudy decorations of affected eloquence; and he shall think his ends sufficiently answered, if the pains he hath taken be any ways instrumental in promoting that Sacred Cause, which it is his ambition to serve. Many of the Plagiarisms, which the compiler of the *English* life of Cardinal *Pole* hath been guilty of, are taken notice of in the course of this work: But many more are unnoticed, to avoid prolixity. Only thus much may be observed in general, that the work itself is little more than a collection from other writers; and that there are not many notes, and not very many pages in it, for which he is not indebted to them: their references are taken, but their names industriously concealed. Thus, for instance, *Quirini's* preliminary discourses to every volume of his edition of *Pole's* letters are only once openly referred to, (part 1. p. 208) though they furnished Mr. *Phillips* with the greatest part of his materials.

Whilst

P R E F A C E.

Whilst these papers were in the press, the author was honoured with some strictures upon Mr. *Phillips* by the Reverend Dr. *Fortin*; and being unwilling to lessen the credit of such valuable observations, he hath put them in the Appendix by themselves.

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Fox's Acts and Monuments, from the edit. of 1641.

E R R A T A.

The mere typographical errors, being obvious and striking, need not be pointed out ; those which affect the sense, the Reader is desired to correct, as follows.

Page 14, line 4 from the bottom, note, instead of *for tho'* read, *indeed*.—p. 16. *turbis sedandi* r. *sedandis*.—p. 35, at the end of note 2, add, & *Herrnschmidii vit. Luth.* p. 99,—p. 36, l. 17, give, r. gave—p. 38, note 1, p. 9, r. p. 7—p. 41, note, l. ult. p. 186, r. p. 286, and p. 56, r. p. 50 — p. 62, l. 14, dele *be* — p. 64, l. 13 after *nothing*, add *entire*—p. 69, l. 8, *be*, r. *be*—p. 80, l. 3, 4, *sollicit his cause*, r. *promote it*—p. 83, l. 8 &c. the authorities for the quotation omitted, add at bottom *Stowe* p. 554. *Cavendish* p. 166 — p. 106, l. 1, *in* r. *it* — p. 118, l. 20, *but*, r. *for* — p. 126, l. 3, 4, *invations*, r. *innovations*. — p. 128, l. ult. note, and in 4 other places, *ibid. ibidem*, r. *id. ibid.* — p. 142, l. ult. *those*, r. *the*—p. 175, l. ult. *whom*, r. *him*—p. 188, l. 14, dele, *be*—p. 193, l. 10, *From*, r. *After*—p. 200, l. 3, *this*, r. *the*. — p. 202, l. ult. *this* r. *the*; and after *Colet* add, *which is here referred to*—p. 208, l. 8, *that*, r. *his*.—p. 224, l. 14, *more*, r. *worse* — p. 228, l. 2, *defensible*, r. *defensive* — p. 229, l. 19, *they*, r. *it* — p. 235, l. 13, after *Dod*, add *collected*—p. 238, l. 3, *was*, r. *were* — p. 249, l. penult. note, after *farther*, add *back*—p. 282, note 1. p. 248, r. *ib.* p. 248 — p. 305, l. 6, dele. *but* — p. 306, l. 3, *such*, r. *his*. — p. 311, l. penult. *had fate*, r. *have sat* — p. 322, l. 9, dele *where* — p. 324, l. 3 fr bott. dele *and* — p. 330, l. 22, *have*, r. *bath*. — p. 340, note 1, *Home*, r. *Hornii* — p. 341, l. 3 fr bott. after *edition*, add *of Sulpicius*. — p. 353, l. 14, after *confession*, add *be*, — p. 354, note 1, *Wolf's* r. *Wolf's* — p. 356, l. 9, *Christ will see* &c. r. *let Christ judge whether what I have said be his, or merely my own* — p. 363, l. 12, from the bottom dele *to offer* — p. 368, l. 14, *better have*, r. *done better to have*. and l. 18, *nothing*, r. *any thing* — p. 380, l. 7. after *appearance*, add, *of bishops*. and l. 12, *wherein*, r. *when* — p. 386, l. 15, after *judged*, add, *the form in which they drew up this important article, with* — p. 387, note 4, add *Dupin*, 16 Cent. v. 2. B. 2. p. 32 — p. 390, l. 23, *the*, r. *that*. and penult. *them*, r. *it* — p. 422, l. 1, after *volume*, add, *in folio* — p. 486, l. 8 fr. bott. after *Christ*, add *or* — p. 492, note 1, 1554, r. 1553 — p. 500, note 1, l. 3, *dogne*, r. *dogue* — p. 501, l. 9, after *confirmed*, add *by Oath*—p. 508, l. 7. *the* r. *she*; and note *Indors*, r. *Tudors* — p. 518, l. penult. *absolutely*, r. *absolute* 19, l. 6, after *him*, add *such* — p. 522, l. 7, *caves*, r. *lives*.

ANIMADVERSIONS

O N

SECTION THE FIRST.

IT was not to be expected, but that the extraordinary activity, zeal, and success of those great and eminent Persons, who were more immediately concerned in bringing about and effecting that important Revolution in Religion which happened in the beginning of the 16th Century, should have rendered them the objects of reproach and defamation from the Members of that Communion, whose interest and gain they so effectually overturned. It might however be hoped that, at this distance of time, their manes would have been spared, and no endeavours used to perpetuate those invectives, and hand down to remotest posterity that obloquy, which violent spleen, and private resentment, raised against them at the first.

In a Controversy of the most interesting nature, in which long-received Opinions were called in question, and inveterate prejudices attacked; it is no wonder if the

A

passions

passions took the alarm, and drew expressions of animosity and rancour from the defendants. Charity will make many and favourable allowances for these. We pity the men, and lament the infirmities of humanity. But should a Writer, after an interval of more than two Centuries, enter into an examination of the cause with a spirit of malice, should he descend to scurrilities and personal invectives; he must be received with indignation and contempt by every honest Reader, even of his own Party.

How far Mr. *Philips*, the *English* Writer of the life of *Reginald Pole*, is chargeable with this offence to decency and good manners, will be seen in the following Papers. He seems to have imagined there could be no better method of extolling his Hero, than at the expence of all who dared to differ from him, not only of those with whom he might have had personal altercations, or from whom he might have received personal injuries, but of those whose sole offence it was to think, in Matters of Speculation, differently from him. This is truly making himself a Party in his Favorite's quarrel: and, as such, he must be answerable for any free strictures which may occasionally be brought against the conduct, temper, and abilities of *Pole* himself; who perhaps may have reason to say
to

Preface
p. VII.

“horrible crime, should in all reason and
 “justice take care that the greatness of his
 “evidence do equal, if not exceed, the
 “quality of the crime.”¹ Mr. *Philips*, above
 attending to so reasonable a law, doth not
 seek so much for evidence of accusation as
 for matter of mere reproach; and, not con-
 tent with reviling Persons, hath taken up-
 on him to treat the Religion of his Coun-
 try with peculiar insult. Yet it seems we
 are to thank him for not speaking out;
*for having a greater respect for the Pub-
 lic, than himself, and sacrificing much of his
 own way of thinking, by suppressing not only
 some justifiable, but some displeasing things:*
 but by the specimen he hath given us, we
 do not reckon ourselves much obliged to
 him for his civilities, or think that he has
 omitted any one aspersion, which might
 render the Reformers infamous, or repre-
 sent our Religion false and prophane. —
 But what else can be expected from one, who
 retails the virulence of *Cocbleius* and *Saun-
 ders*, whose authority, he must know, was
 from the beginning rejected, as the evidence
 of common and professed calumniators.

It is however by no means the intention
 of these reflections to deprive *Pole*, or any
 of his Friends, of their just praises. False
 is that Religion, and cursed is that Learn-

¹ *Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants. Chap. 6.
 part. 1. p. 310. 2d Edit. 1638.*

ing which makes us blind to the merit of those with whom we cannot in all respects agree : neither is it the design of this work to enter deeply into the Controversy of the two Churches ; only to rectify some grievous mistakes of this writer with regard to facts and authority, and to vindicate the good name of some distinguished characters, whom he has made the peculiar objects of his censures and reproaches.

Agreeably therefore to his own desire, Preface
We will step back 200 years into the Man- P. vii.
ners, Religion and Policy of the times he treats about, and form the best judgment we can from an impartial representation of Facts, as if we had lived then, and were unconcerned about the Opinion of those who were to come after us. And here, the high birth, the eminent station, the real worth and the good qualities of *Pole*, are readily acknowledged : a respectable Character he was no doubt, but far from being that capital Figure he is here drawn. If compared with the Writers of his own times, we shall find his abilities, tho' not despicable, were by no means such as would rank him amongst the most eminent of his contemporaries. His parts were rather specious than solid ; his talent lying more in florid declamation than in strict argumentation. From his circumstances and situation in life, he was frequently placed in
those

Preface
p. viii.

those spheres of action, which ill suited his genius; which was rather calculated *for the still scenes of life*, where he shone to better advantage, than when he was engaged in those employments or designs which required greater spirit, life and activity than he seems possessed of.

p. 6.

His Education was attended with all the advantages that high birth and affluence could command. He was very early put forward in life by his excellent Tutors, that there was little doubt of his answering the expectations conceived of him, and making himself fit for those preferments designed him by the King, who encouraged and maintained him. In the account that *Wood* gives of his residence and progress in literature in *Oxford*¹ he says nothing of *the academical exercises performed by him, nor of their having lasted several days, as Mr. Philips informs us they did.* But he took this account from the foreign Writers of the life of *Pole*, who it is probable magnified his proficiencies, on being told that he was admitted to read the logical books of *Aristotle*; by which nothing more is meant, than that he became B. A. it being only the statutable form of admission to

¹ *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* v. i. p. 114. 2^d. ed. which this Writer had seen and consulted, having been obliged to him, (though he is above acknowledging it;) for the greatest part of the particulars of the former page.

that

that degree. From thence, for more improvement, he went to *Padua*, at that time the most celebrated place in *Italy* for the cultivation of the Belles Lettres. A young nobleman of his hopes and distinction could not but be received with open arms, at a place *then at the height of its glory*; which P. 13. *Erasmus* himself longed to visit, and used to call, not, as Mr. *Philips* says, *the Athens of Europe*, but the *Italy of Italy*.¹

As our Author is so greatly obliged to cardinal *Quirini*, for the account he has given us of the professors of *Padua*, and the valuable acquaintance which *Pole* made during his five years residence in that university, it is very disingenuous not to vouchsafe once to cite the first chapter of *Quirini's* remarks on *Pole's* Letters; for he has not only transcribed the chiefest part of his narration from thence, but has taken almost every quotation and reference from him.²

1 *Quam ut olim Atticam τῆς Ελλάδος Ελλάδα quidam appellarunt, merito Italiam Italiae quis dixerit.*

Eras. Ep. *Petro Bembo*. Lib. 25. p. 958.

See also *Quirini* v. 1. p. 219. where the above Letter is referred to; as is *Budæus's* to *Linacre* cited by Mr. *Philips* in the note at the bottom, p. 11. and also this Remark of *Erasmus* concerning Sir *Thomas More*, cited in the same place, where he says of him, *multo adhuc majora ex naturæ suæ felicitate præstaturum, si hoc ingenium excoluisset Italia.* *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 223.

2 Where cardinal *Quirini* makes a reference to the page or book of any Author, so does the servile Mr. *P.* — where the one quotes at random, the other is obliged to do so too.

The

The great reputation of the Professors at *Padua* had made it the common resort of learned men, and of all who were ambitious of that character, and desirous of being recommended to the notice of the world by those who were confessedly the best judges of literary merit. Here it was where *Pole* began those connections, which distinguished his rising worth. The Professors had this extraordinary spur to their industry and diligence; they knew that they were forming the mind of one, who was the kinsman and the favorite of a great king, and might hereafter have it in his power amply to reward their labours: and some of them partook nobly of his present bounty, being maintained by him in his own house. They therefore took care to publish his praises, as of one who was an honour to them, and an ornament to their University. Here commenced his close intimacy with *Bembo*, *Sadolet* and *Longo-lius*, which lasted the remainder of their lives.

Whilst he continued in this place, his acquaintance with *Erasmus* also took its rise. That great man had received from his friend *Lupset* a very favourable representation of *Pole*. He therefore entered into an epistolary intercourse with him; which he began by recommending to his favour and

I. *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 201, &c. — 210.

esteem,

esteem, in the warmest terms, the afterwards well-known *John a Lasco*; thereby genteelly laying himself under an obligation to his new correspondent. In one of his Letters he compliments him so far as to give him a detail of the controversy between *Luther* and himself: and to this letter we owe that long, confused note of Mr. P. 19.

Philips, inserted evidently to asperse the memory of *Erasmus*, and to mislead his readers; for in it he has jumbled together a long suit of letters, written some of them at the distance of 6 or 7 years from others; and not only inverted the order of them, but hath most unfairly represented them as written at almost one and the same time. The substance of this note is to be found in *Seckendorf's* copious history of *Lutheranism*.^{*} And indeed he refers to him, but declines telling us in what part of that voluminous work we are to seek it. Hence it is probable that he did not consult *Seckendorf* himself, but trusted to some other author who quotes him; or that he here gives us a Specimen of one of his usual arts, of confounding those who would examine his authorities.

The epistle to *Melanchton*, which he here cites, he hath miserably mangled. But why doth he take no notice of this clause in it, *Tum quod scribo, non scribo adversus*

^{*} *Seckendorf Hist. Luth. L. I. p. 309.*

animi

animi sententiam? plainly, because it makes full against him; and clears *Erasmus* of the charge of prevarication, here so ungenerously intended him.

In the letter to *Vives*, Mr. *Philips*, by what art of construction I know not, makes him say, “I have wrote a treatise on Free-Will,” whereas he says only, (in an abrupt unconnected manner) “to confess the truth, we have lost free-will:” nor does he acknowledge that he believed nothing of what he wrote, as he is here represented: he expresses himself thus, *Illic mihi aliud dictabat animus aliud scribebat calamus*. Now if instead of retailing this stale weather-beaten calumny against *Erasmus*, Mr. *Philips* had consulted his able and candid Apologist, he might have learned that the words, “tho’ perhaps referring to his dispute with *Luther*, and incautiously expressed, yet cannot mean that he had written against his *Conscience*, but his *Inclination*, and so had lost his free-will; this he frequently declared, and chose a subject wherein he really, and *ex animo* differed from *Luther*; and all that we can judge of these words is, what he himself averred, that tho’ very *unwillingly*, yet very *sincerely*, he had thus written.”

1 *Jortin’s Life of Erasmus*, v. I. p. 413, &c.

The

The letter to the Senate of *Strasburgh* was written to complain of the asperity of *Hutten*, who had wrote a very abusive and scurrilous treatise against him, at which he says both *Luther* and *Melancton* were vehemently displeased. With regard to *Luther*, he says, “that he had rather lose every thing, than, by gratifying some people’s passions, write against his conscience; only he would not join that party, as well for many other reasons, as for this, that some things in *Luther*’s writings he understood not, and some things he approved not.”¹. But it appears by his marginal reference, that our hasty Author took this epistle to be an apology of *Erasmus* for that acrimony which he long afterwards expressed against *Luther*, in a letter to him not less than two years after the date of this.²

¹ *Omnia recusavi, quæ mihi principes obtulerunt, ut scriberem adversus Lutherum, imo mea malui perdere, quam ad affectus quorundam scribere contra conscientiam, tantum isti fœderi nolui dare nomen, quum multis aliis de causis, tum ob hoc, quod quædam in libris Lutheri non intelligerem, quædam omnino non probarem.*

Eras. Ep. L. 20. p. 716.

² The reader may here see at one view the respective dates of the letters, &c. huddled together in this long note of Mr. *Philips*.

Luther published his book against *Henry*, in 1522.

Tonstall’s letter to *Erasmus*, was written, in 1523.

Luther’s letter to *Erasmus*, dissuading him from writing against him, is dated — 1524.

Erasmus’s

P. 20.

The great intimacy that subsisted between *Pole* and *Longolius* gives our Biographer an opportunity of making a more particular relation of this remarkable *Ciceronian*. *Pole's* life of him was the first, and the best specimen, he gave the public of his abilities. It is inserted in *Bates's Lives*,¹ and is an elegant elogium. We are told there as well as here, that *Longolius* was born at *Mechlin*, and that too from his own authority; and yet in a letter of *Erasmus* to *Damian a Goes*,² he speaks in a most confident manner of his being a true *Hollander*, his father being of that country, and that he had this information from an uncle of *Longolius*. The whole bent of his ambition was the cultivation of eloquence, and the forming his style ex-

Erasmus's letters with copies of his book, to *Henry, Tonstall, Wolfey*, and the Pope's Secretary are dated, _____ 1524.

Erasmus's letter, to *George*, brother of the Duke of *Saxony*, relates to the *Hyperaspistæ*, and is dated, _____ 1527.

---- His letter to *Melanchton*, is dated, --- 1524.

---- To *Vives*, is dated --- 1527.

---- his angry letter to *Luther*, is dated, 1526.

Erasmus's book contra *Pseudo-Evangelicos*. 1529.

---- Letter to the Senate of *Strasburgh*, dated, 1524.

1 *Vitæ selectorum Virorum*. *Batseus*, p. 240.

2 *Purus putus Hollandus, prognatus e patre Hollando, in oppido celebri Hollandiæ, cui hortorum pulchritudo nomen dedit Schoonhoviae. ---- quod dico, patruus ipsius, Petrus Longolius, vir apprime doctus, mihi narravit.*

Eraf. Ep. L. 27. p. 1106.

actly

actly after the model of *Cicero's*, servilely copying his words and phrases; as if nothing was classical unless it was to be found in his writings. This close imitation drew upon him, and others of the same turn, the censures of some of the best criticks of those times, who laughed at them for their pains; ¹ and yet this man *undertook to re-* P. 20.
fute Luther's whole system: “a task for
 “which he was not at all fit, having no-
 “thing in his head besides *Ciceronianism* and
 “a little Philology.” ² An intense applica-
 tion to study seems to have shortened his
 days. Before he was taken ill, he made
 his will, and bequeathed his library to his
 friend and executor *Pole*, whom he ac-
 quainted with his illness, not by *dictating*
 but writing to him himself: and he im-
 mediately came to comfort his sick friend,

¹ *Erasmus* in his *Ciceronianus*. *Scaliger* says of *Longolius*, *non suo sensu, sed Ciceronis locutus est, dum non stylum Ciceronis, sed ipsissimas Phrases, adeoque sententias transcribit.* *Scaligeran.* p. 244. cited in *Fortin's Life of Erasmus*, v.1. p.159. And *Erasmus* in his letter to *Pole*, besides the quotation in the margin, p. 20. *doleo Longolium, &c.* speaking of his style, tells him, *in his quæ prodierunt apparet anxia Ciceronianæ dictionis affectatio, sed interim frigentibus interdum sententiis, subolet juvenilis quidam amor gloriæ.* *Ep. L. 21.* p. 790.

² *Fortin's Erasmus*, v.1. p.165. And thus *Erasmus*, in the letter to *a Goes*, cited here by *Mr. Philips*, says, *qui totus in hoc incubuit, ut Ciceronem exprimeret, nec infeliciter cessit conatus, at hic quanto seipso frigidior est, in his, in quibus pugnat adversus Lutheri dogmata.*

who

who expired a few days after, in the 33^d year of his age. It will give us but a very indifferent idea of his good sense, that he desired to be buried in the habit of a Cordelier.* *Erasmus*, in a letter to *Alciat*, hath given an humorous account of the vanity and stiffness of this pedantick *Ciceronian*;
 “ who was so solemn, that though he staid
 “ with him three days, he never observed
 “ him to smile, not even at meal-times,
 “ tho’ he would sometimes aim at a joke
 “ in his letters; — that according to this
 “ sect, every thing must be expressed as
 “ *Cicero* would have done it. Oh! if he
 “ could revive, how he would laugh at these

† *Epistola a Longolio conscripta extremum spiritum ducente*; and then follows the former part of the letter here quoted. *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 205. *Pole* himself in his life of *Longolius*, speaking of his friend’s illness, says, *eo tempore forte abesset Polus, cui antea res suas omnes crediderat, quem tamen per literas quo statu esset certiore fecit . . . quo nuntio tristissimo ille percussus subito accurrit; . . . antequam vero discederet, in divi Francisci Familiam voluit adoptari, ejusque habitu post mortem & templo sepeliri. Obiit 33^o. ætatis anno. 3^o. Id. Septembris A. D. 1522.* I have been thus minute and particular in this and a former note, to point out some of Mr. *Philips*’s inaccuracies. It was as easy for him to have followed his authorities closely, as to have been hasty and careless. A Biographer should attend to dates, and his extracts should be clear and full, for tho’ the disagreement here with matter of fact is not material; but the reader is entitled to accuracy even in things which are not so. *Pole’s* life, p. 24. Note.

disciples

“disciples of his.” Such is the character that Scholars have given of him.

But while they at *Padua* were reforming their style and language, they were called off to more important concerns than that of joining words together. An *Augustinian* friar had started a controversy, not of diction but of faith; and how well he maintained his cause is apparent. At the name of *Martin Luther* every son of *Rome* trembled; and happy was he who could asperse him most. Our Biographer hath put in his mite, and repeated the clamour; and hath drawn the outlines of his picture, but in such distorted features, as to lose all resemblance. We disclaim the character here P. 25. given of that zealous Reformer, as being the reverse of the original. But before we vindicate his good name, we will exorcise those evil spirits that he is supposed to be possessed with, and rid him of his execrable

I Toto triduo quo mecum egit, nunquam vidi hominem vel leviter subridentem; ne in conviviiis quidem: . . & tamen in epistolis nonnunquam conatur esse festivus . . exorta est nova secta Ciceronianorum . . posthac non licebit episcopos appellare patres reverendos, nec in calce literarum scribere annum a Christo nato, quod id nusquam faciat Cicero. Quid autem ineptius quam . . non aliter audere loqui, quam locutus est Cicero! si revivisceret ipse Cicero, rideret hac Ciceronianorum genus.

Eras. Ep. Alciato. L. 21. p. 798.

See more of *Longolius* in the first volume of *Fortin's* life of *Erasmus*. *passim*.

inti-

intimacies Mr. *Philips* so positively asserts he maintained *with those infernal inmates*. A charge of this nature should be well proved, or not named at all; for the infamy of such slanders will fall somewhere. Happily however for this staunch catholic; he tells us, *Luther* himself, *lost to every human sentiment, acknowledged this diabolical instructor as his master*.

P. 25.
note.

The first appeal by way of proving this formidable accusation, is to a treatise of *Luther's*, entitled *Concio de turbis Sedandi*: but as no such treatise is mentioned either by *Seckendorf*, or *Hernschmidius* (who published *Luther's* life in 1742) who have each given a catalogue of his works according to the date of the years when they were wrote or published, I leave it to our writer to make the most he can of it. His next proof of this notable fact is, *part of a sentence* taken from *Luther's table-talk*; a book not published by himself, not allowed to be his by many of his followers, nor appearing till many years after his death, and its supposed compiler's; "yet allowing it to
" be genuine, what fair and respectable ad-
" versary would urge loose table-talk against
" a man in controversy, and build serious in-
" ferences upon what perhaps was spoken
" but in jest," perhaps mistaken by the rela-

I *Atterbury's* answer to the considerations on the spirit of *Martin Luther*; p. 16. 1687. Q^o.

tor,

tor, or perhaps not spoken at all. But however, as we are pretty sure that *Luther* never kept bad company, we will see what Mr. *Philips* can make against him from thence: tho' we must remind him, that as there is an English translation of this *Table-talk*, it was not kindly done to refer us to a Latin edition of a book not easily to be procured, or if it could, to a passage not readily to be found, when only a few detached words make the whole proof of this accusation.

It was indeed prudent for him, thus to fight in the dark; for having found out the place, we see nothing like it. For thus does *Luther* express himself. Having before spoke of the opposition from within in mental suggestions, wherewith he was assaulted by the Devil, he adds to comfort himself. "What I
 " teach, write, preach, and intend, the same
 " I lead openly in the clear day-light, not
 " hidden in a corner; I direct, and square
 " all the same by the gospel, by baptism,
 " and the Lord's prayer. Christ standeth
 " here, him I cannot deny, upon the gospel
 " do I ground my cause, &c. Yet notwith-
 " standing all this, the Devil bringeth it so
 " near unto me, with his crafty disputing,
 " that the sweat of anguish droppeth from
 " me, insomuch as many times I feel and
 " understand, *that he sleepeth nearer unto*
 " *me than my wife Kate doth*; THAT IS,
 B "he

“ he disquieteth me more, than she com-
 “ forteth, or pleaseth me; even thus St.
 “ *Paul* comforted himself when he was re-
 “ viled for a rebel. Likewise the Devil stirred
 “ up the Jews against Christ, *therefore* do
 “ I say to the Devil, like as thou camest to
 “ confusion by Christ and St. *Paul*, even
 “ so shall it go with thee, if thou meddlest
 “ with me.” ¹ This is the whole connected
 passage, from whence this zealous honest
 writer, or some more zealous friend, picked
 out this sounding, disjointed sentence, to de-
 monstrate *Luther's* intimacy with the De-
 vil. If so, *Martin* shewed his affection for
 the fiend in a very odd manner; and the
 proof of it does not discover an intimacy
 of friendship, but a declaration of war, a
 challenge of defiance: and as he was over-
 turning his kingdom, he made as free with
 his name, as he did with any of his vota-
 ries. And whatever *respect was due to his*
readers, Mr. *Philips* was certainly wanting
 in that *due to himself*, when he ventured to
 refer to this place.

P. 25.

Errata

before the
2d pt.

But for this dismembered quotation, au-
 thority is at last produced, such as it is, but
 an authority plainly discovered after the fal-
 shood had been detected: because, in this, and
 the following page of *Walsingham's* search,²
 where this honest quotation occurs, there

¹ *Luther's Table-Talk*, Engl. ed. chap. 37. *Of tri-
 bulation and temptation*, p. 391.

² Search into matters of religion. *Lond.* 1609.

are

are some others of the same sort added, which would by no means have been overlooked by one who was hunting for matter of defamation; such as, *eating a bushel of salt with the Devil, — that he was so about him that he could neither write nor read, &c. &c.* which have afforded much pleasant pastime to *Luther's* able and candid opponents. Mr. *Walsingham*, the person upon whose authority our author relies for this weighty objection, was a deacon of our church; a well meaning but a weak man, who was unsettled by lighting upon a defence of father *Campion*, wrote by his brother missionary holy father *Parsons*, in answer to a book published by two Puritan Divines. Mr. *W.* in order to solve the doubts which he could not answer himself, instead of considering the full and able rejoinder immediately made to that defence, chose to settle his mind by confiding in the *plausible* representations, which his new friends gave of their religion: and trusting to the books, they put into his hands, he seemeth not to have doubted of the truth of the citations he found in in them. For

I See a treatise against the defence of the censure given upon the books of *W. Charke*, and *Meredith Hammer*, in maintenance of the seditious challenge of *Edmund Campian* lately condemned and executed for high treason. A cool, well-written sensible performance.

A 12°. book printed at *Cambridge*, no year mentioned.

in

in the instance before us, it is scarcely credible that he, any more than Mr. *Philips*, gave himself the trouble of consulting *Luther's* works; but relied upon extracts given him by a friend. For surely no honest and good man, who could see with his own eyes, or valued his own reputation, would stop short (as they both do) and content himself, *with a few words in the middle of a sentence*, when the whole, if clearly stated, would make entirely against him. — But what Faith is to be kept with Hereticks!

Neither does our Author succeed better in his next reference, a quotation that he ought to be ashamed to make; and to which no one, who would give himself time and thought to consult the book wherein it occurs, could in honour or conscience have given such a turn. It is not in the Treatise here appealed to, *De abroganda missa privata*, but in that entitled, *De missa privata & unctiōe sacerdotum*; and is plainly, like the former, a mental suggestion, a spiritual conflict upon reflecting, that for years together he had celebrated Mass, whilst he was a sinner. He sought to quiet his conscience, and answer these temptations of the Devil, by saying, he was an anointed priest because he said Mass in the Faith of the church. He confesses, that tho' in respect of his own faith and sins, upon the principles he then held, he could not repel the Devil's sophistry;

try; yet when he considered the grace and power of Christ, all his terrors vanished. In the *German*, and in the *Jena* Latin translation, this imaginary bodily conference is said to be *in corde*.¹ The whole represents the uneasiness of his own mind, not thoroughly satisfied with the arguments he used against these internal assaults, when under the bondage of popery, and whilst he was ignorant of his own strength.² In this anxiety of mind, being convicted by the law of God, he owned himself a sinner; and turning unto Christ with *Peter*, looked upon his infinite merits, who hath condemned all horrible condemnation: and though without

¹ *Cœpit Diabolus in corde meo disputationem, multas enim noctes satis acerbis & molestis mihi facere potest.*

Lutheri op. ed. Jenæ, v. 2.

In the *Wittenburgh* edition the conference begins thus, *Si forsan agnoscatis, quam firmis nitatur columnis vestra causa, si in horam incidatis tentationum . . . Contigit me semel sub mediam noctem subito expergescere, ibi Satan mecum cœpit ejusmodi disputationem.*

De missa privata, & unct. sacerdot. Lutheri op. ed. Witt. v. 7. p. 228.

² *In his angustiis, in hoc agone contra diabolum volebam retundere hostem Armis, quibus assuetus sum sub papatu, obiciebamque intentionem & fidem ecclesiæ . . . si ego inquam non recte credidi aut sensi, tamen in hoc recte credidit & sensit ecclesia. verum Satan e contra fortius & vehementius instans . . . hic respondebunt mihi sanctissimi patres, hic ridebunt & dicent, Tunc es Doctör ille celebris, & non nosti respondere Diabolo? --- si papista essem omnium tentationum rudis, quem securum & stertentem negligeret . . . etiam talis gygas essem, contra absentem hostem, alacer, & fortis. Ibid. p. 229. 230.*

Christ

Christ he was guilty, yet thro' faith in him, tho' a sinner, he was holy and pure and clean; and had received Baptism, Absolution, and the Sacraments, as seals of the Divine Grace.

Append. This is the substance of this imaginary
pt. 2d. diabolical conference, which modest and ho-
P. 241. ly Mr. *Philips* tells us *cannot be read without horror*; but which we have related with pleasure, professing we see nothing in it but what is grave, serious, and pious; and, if impartially considered, must greatly raise the character of *Luther* either as a Divine or a Christian. We were threatened *with the passage at length in the appendix*: but when our ingenuous author had procured an edition of *Luther's* works, his heart misgave him. To state *the passage* fairly, he found, would not answer his purpose: his word was plighted to the Publick. What was to be done? To insert it, or wholly to

P. 25.

I Opus est in tali agone divino & cœlesti auxilio --- confessus quidem sum (lege Dei convictus) coram diabolo, me peccasse, me damnatum esse ut fudam, sed verto me ad Christum cum Petro, & respicio ejus immensum beneficium & meritum, &c. Ille omnem horrendam damnationem damnavit. Extra Christum essem quidem reus mortis æternæ, sed quia sum in Christo, & in ipso credo, ipsum invoco, tum jam mea damnatio est damnata . . . & constanter possum dicere, etiam si sum peccator, tamen sum sanctus & innocens in Christo, . . . ipse meum peccatum delevit per sanguinem suum, de hoc non dubito, in hoc accepi baptismum, absolutionem & sacramenta, ut sigilla certa divinæ gratiæ, &c. Ibid. p. 230.

Seckendorf hath related the history of this dispute, and fully exposed the idle objection of a real or sensible appearance. L. I. p. 166, & seq.

omit

omit it, would be acting with too much honour for rancour and bigotry: it would be giving up the point: it would be confessing the passage was falsely, was ignorantly, was impertinently alledged. His best way, since he was gone so far, he thought would be, to compromise the matter; to slur it over with a pious exclamation; grossly to insult the memory of *Luther*; to take the Devil's part, and make him have the better of the dispute. *Luther's* works are not common: who knows but a confident appeal to them will pass off unsuspected? Is this the good faith of the conscientious Mr. *Philips*? Did he think, that because he published his book in a land of Heresy, we were not entitled to honesty and impartiality? how else will he excuse his wilful misrepresentations? how else palliate his notorious falsehoods? But perhaps his zeal, or his *horror*, would not suffer him to go through the few pages this conference takes up. I hope therefore for truth's sake, he did not read the whole passage; else, in his own language, we shall ask him, *what spirit is he possessed with*, to Append. say, *the Devil prevailed over Luther, and* Pt. 2. *that Luther yielded the victory to him?* P. 241. when *Luther* himself expressly asserts, that the Devil was a liar; that he missed his aim; that he could not drive him to despair; and that the thoughts of Christ's Merits
and

and Mercies removed all his scruples and anxiety of mind. Now let the Reader judge, whether or no *Luther* learnt of the Devil to abolish the Mass, that pretended *capital article of the Catholick Religion*. After all, if Mr. *Phillips* instead of dipping into the book just at the conference, and stopping there, had read further in this treatise *de Missa privata*, &c. he would have learnt that the question there, is not, about abolishing the Mass; but only that the conflicts of an awakened conscience for saying private Mass, when he first found it to be sinful, are stated under the fiction of a bodily conference with the Adversary of mankind. Now if this *dialogue with the spirit of lies* had ended in *Luther's* giving up the point, there would have been matter of real triumph: instead of that, he by no means yeilded to the persuasions of his diabolical Foe, by being driven to despair; but overcame the temptation and the assault, by appealing to the Mercy of God, and the Merits of Christ.

The enemies of *Luther* must be hard driven, when they are compelled to go so low for matter of invective; as to rail at him, for disagreeing with the Devil. The truth is, that *Luther*, without the Devil's help or *instructions*, had abolished the Mass, as a *capital error*, some years before this treatise was published. To represent the feel-

feelings and anxiety of his mind, before he could satisfy himself in that point, he described them in the language of the convent; and exhibited, under this feigned conference, the struggles of a tender conscience before conviction. Thus *his intimacies with these infernal inmates* end not only in opposing, but in vanquishing them: which is but a strange way of returning the kindness of their *instructions*. — But what must we think of those, who, to blast a good man's reputation, shall quote a strong figurative manner of expression, as asserting a real matter of fact, and then argue gravely from this presumption? is not this such dishonest chicanery, as merits the severest reprehension? — but let such be left to the lashes of their own conscience. *And I should be wanting to the respect I owe to the reader*, to detain him by formally refuting such shameful objections and “filly stories, that they are fit to be the “objects of a stronger and more resigning “faith, than we protestants can pretend to.”

But did *Luther* alone keep such bad company? Many of the *Romish* Saints had much greater familiarity with the *spirit of darkness and lies*. He played them many a sad prank. — He served poor *Benedict* a trick, tho' he had like to have suffered for it himself. He appeared to this Saint in shape of a blackbird, and came so near his

Atterbury, p. 46.

mouth

mouth that he might have caught him, but whilst he was crossing his mouth, the bird was flown indeed, but left behind him so terrible a dishonest carnal temptation, which plagued him so much, that he threw off his cloaths, and rolled himself amongst thorns and briars, that the pain might drive away the temptation. — That meek and godly man St. *Dominick*, the father of that holy tribunal the Inquisition, who is said never to have committed one mortal sin, and to whom the virgin *Mary* gave the Rosary, yet even he could not escape old Satan's malice. Once he disturbed the Saint at study, by skipping about the leaves of his book in the shape of a flea. *Dominick* however seized him, kept him in that shape, and pinned him to the place where he left off, as a mark. — Another time the fiend was more saucy, and in the shape of a monkey, by grinning and other apish tricks disturbed him more than ever: but here again he met with his match, for the Saint made him hold his candle so long, till his claws were burnt to the bone. — One day as they were studying together, the Fiend produced a long list of the sins of the *Dominican* fraternity, which upon the Saint's commands he quietly (knowing his power) gave up to him. — Once he had a long

I *Antoninus Chron.* p^t, 3. tit. 23. cap. 4. 6.

conference with many Devils together, and forced them to confess the virtues of the Rosary, and that he was the Saint they most feared. — After that, the Devil and he were good friends, and he became his disciple and servant; for he set up the Inquisition, and butchered the poor *Albigenses* by wholesale. In the first act of faith at *Tbolouse*, he burnt at least 300, some say 400 of them alive in one day for heresy; which *Paramus*, a well-known inquisitor, said, was the most glorious that ever was seen. ¹ — The flaming heart, the glorious St. *Theresa*, as she is styled, had also many exterior representations of the Devil in various shapes and disguises: and it was some time, before she found out, how much he detested holy water, which made him fly away at once. ² — That angelick virgin, the soul-seeing St. *Catherine* of *Sienna*, ³ and the famous St^a. *Clara*, ⁴ were both of them dis-

¹ See *Geddes's* view of all the orders of monks and friars in the *Roman* church, p. 4. 28. 36, &c. where there are many such pretty tales taken from the lives of these blessed Saints. *Miscellaneous tracts*, v. 3.

² St^a. *Theresa's* life, *Eng.* edit. 1642. c. 31. p. 445, &c. of certain exterior temptations and representations of the Devil, &c.

³ St^a. *Catherine* of *Sienna's* life. *Eng.* edit. 1609. p^t. 1. c. 20. p. 87. Of the strange battailes which she had against the Devil, &c.

⁴ *Vita St^æ. Claræ. Antwerp. 1650. c. 7. p. 45. De exercitatione ejus in Oratione, a qua Dæmon eam abstrahere conatur.*

turbed

turbed by conferences with this angel of darkness; the latter of whom he assaulted with stripes. — But he made the most impression of all, in early days, upon St. *Martin of Tours*, with whom he had so many conferences, that the St. began to conceive hope of his friend's Salvation. ¹

But these are only flight specimens of the portentous fictions, with which the lives of the *Romish* Saints are replete. They are mentioned here with no other view, but to shew the consistency of Mr. *Philips*, who can relate a story to the disgrace, as he conceives, of *Luther*, whilst multitudes of the like kind, but infinitely more absurd, are recorded to the glory of the heroes of his own communion; all which, monstrous as they are, his religion compels him to believe. But it is probable, so enlightened a person hath some favourable palliations to allege in behalf of these reveries: let him grant the same indulgence to these stories of *Luther*, and then he will be at liberty to make the worst use of it he is able. I cannot but congratulate the world, on Mr. *Alban Butler's* pious and edifying performance, who in condescension to the depraved, vitiated taste of the times, so much devoted to novels and romances, the figments of the imagination, has published

¹ See his life by *Sulpitius Severus*, sect. 24.

such amusing fables, as *the lives of the Saints must* be, if abounding with those ridiculous and palpable absurdities, which mark throughout the legendary lives of those curious and imaginary Saints, the fathers of the desert, and those fanatical devotees whom *Surius, Rabadeneira, &c.* have so gravely obtruded into the world. Preface P. xi.

Having failed so much in his evidence for *Luther's* diabolical connections, let us see whether he is more fortunate in the character he draws of that reformer and his writings; and it will appear that he is equally a stranger to both; receiving his impressions of them, not by a personal inspection into his works, of which I am persuaded he never read a line, but from the exaggerated misrepresentations of declared adversaries. The first and more immediate occasion of *Luther's* defect from the See of *Rome* is well known. He was a man of uncommon virtue and resolution. The corruption, the ignorance, the wickedness of those times, is loudly complained of by every serious writer; the necessity and want of a reformation acknowledged by our author in many places of this book, and indeed by all the candid writers of his own church, and not openly denied by any of the sycophants of the popes. The moral

1 P. 139, 141, 151, 209, &c.

part

part of *Luther's* character hath never been impeached: his abilities speak for themselves. There is indeed, but then it was the general fault of the age, just emerging out of ignorance and barbarism, an asperity and roughness in his writings, far different from that delicacy which an improvement in politeness has since made the test of civility and good manners. What would offend us now, carried with it then, no idea of rudeness or indelicacy, but was the common language and expression of the schools. This, and the nature of his undertaking, which required all the firmness he could possibly collect, and all the native plainness of his country, is the only apology expedient to vindicate him from the petulant censures of this biographer.

The cotemporary writers speak highly of *Luther's* morals, and abilities. Like another *Athanasius*, he for some time singly bore the storms of the whole world: and those who were the most galled by him did by no means look upon him, tho' alone, as an insignificant opponent. They soon found his heroical spirit too much superior to them. Many of those who widely differed from him, yet spoke respectfully of him. *Erasmus's* favourable and candid opinion of him is well known: and to deprive us of the weight of his testimony, he himself is accused of being a suspected friend, and
wishing

wishing well to his designs. But *he* does not speak more advantageously of him than Pope *Leo* the tenth himself did, when he said, “brother *Martin* is a fine genius, and “his enemies are little envious monks;”¹ or than bishop *Fisher* of *Rocheſter*, who, in two of his letters to *Erasmus*, mentions him in terms of the utmoſt regard; acknowledging his extraordinary abilities, and his maſterly knowledge of the S S; and only wiſhing he had ſpared the Pope and his court.² But *Luther* was not of a temper to do things by halves. He had a ready apprehenſion, a ſolid judgment, and an invincible fortitude: what he wrote, came from the heart; was the effect of conviction, of meditation, and prayer.

His firſt attempt, againſt the exorbitant ſale of indulgences, carried with it all the diffidence of modeſt Worth: he ſeemed fearful of attacking received and revered

¹ *Fortin's* life of *Erasmus*. V. i. p. 124. Note.

² *Lutherus de quo ſcripſeras, mirabili ingenii acumine præditus eſt, & S S. præſto habet ad manum. Legi enim ea quæ ſcripſit maxima cum aviditate. Vellem libentiſſime illum poſſum convenire abſque gravi incommodo meo, ut poſſem cum eo diſcutere nonnulla, quæ me movent, &c.* And in another letter he ſays, *Audio Lutheri commentarios in Pſalterium, & in Epistolam ad Ephesios propediem emit-tendos. Placet mihi hominis ingenium, & mirifica in S S. eruditio, vellem proſeſſo ſe temperaſſet de ſummo Pontifice loqui, & de iis quæ ad Romanam curiam ſpectant.*

Cited by *John Fox* in his continuation of *Haddon's* answer to *Oſorius*, p. 279.

doctrines;

doctrines; yet conscious at the same time of his abilities to support and confirm his notions and assertions, which he proposed in a scholastick and academick method. When no redress was made of this shameful prostitution of religion, this offence to decency and common sense, so loudly complained of; but the factors still went on with their delusive cheats, and the disputant was not attempted to be answered by argument but overpowered by numbers: he then examined the matter more dogmatically as a divine; and soon found the venerable name of antiquity impudently given to doctrines, but lately received into the church.

In the course of his studies, he gained further degrees of knowledge and experience, which he communicated to the world; and, as he knew not what it was to fear, he gradually attacked, by the force of the same powerful conviction, other corruptions of the church. When his writings were published, they were examined and debated amongst the learned, with the same precision and accuracy, as before by himself in his closet; and, as of old, some believed and were persuaded, and some were not. But however it could not but give him perfect joy and satisfaction, to find his writings so eagerly enquired after, and so well approved of, that many of the greatest discernment

cernment and understanding avowedly supported his person and cause. This alarmed those at *Rome*: and what was to be done? *Cajetan* had found, that he had neither a fordid nor a timorous soul. He was then to be run down and baited with a world of furies. The Pope and the Emperor proscribed him: they burnt his books; and would have confuted his person the same way, if they could have caught him. They even submitted to expose him by the meanest buffooneries: they represented him as the offspring or incubus of the Devil; nay that he was not a man, but a Devil in a monk's cowl. They encouraged their tools in their most illiberal railings against him; and, instead of hearkening to any of his just remonstrances, or vouchsafing to correct any of their most flagrant corruptions, they shewed their inflexible determination to continue them with all their pristine enormities, and to check this insolent aggressor by the severest denunciations.

Then, and not till then, *Luther's* spirit and fire was moved; and when the perverseness, the stupidity, the effrontery of his opponents had transported him, and made him somewhat furious, reasonable judges will esteem it not unpardonable, if he likewise, as well as they, offended in his words: but had he shrunk under the opposition, or been terrified at their

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threats,

threats, there had been an end of him and his doctrines. A man of his warmth and impetuosity was absolutely necessary for the arduous work which God had appointed him to do, who operates by second agents and natural causes: and the good man himself was as sensible of this his natural infirmity as others were to reproach him with it, is frequently making apologies for it, and laying it upon the great provocations he received. His enemies did all they could to irritate and provoke him; and then basely cried out against his temper, when they felt the effects of his indignation. When he offered at first to be quiet, if they would be so too, they looked upon it as proceeding from fear; after that, he would not listen to any overtures of peace.¹ In his memorable defence before the Emperor at *Worms*, he owned this to be his natural failing; saying that “he did not pretend to be a Saint, or dispute about the goodness of his own life, but the doctrine of Christ.”² And in another place,

¹ *Certus sum dogmata mea habere me de cælo
Ipsi me provocaverunt ad bellum, bellum igitur habebunt,
pacem oblatam contempserunt, pacem igitur non habebunt.
. . . . Christus mihi spiritum suppeditabat insignem con-
temptorem, tam fraudis, quam furoris Papistici, fecitque
ut quo magis S. S. purgarem, eo certius abominationem im-
plicitam invenirem.*

Contra Regem Angliæ, v. 2. Witt. ed. p. 331.

² *Tertium genus eorum est (sc. librorum) qui scripti
sunt*

vindicating himself to the same purpose, he adds, “that they were welcome to attack
“his life; but this he could say, he was
“above such low work; all that he in-
“veighed against were doctrines and te-
“nets, contrary to the word of God.”

And tho’ we do not justify some excesses of this infirmity, which came from him unawares, and when he had been roughly handled, or thought the sacred cause of truth and religion injured; yet we must say, was there not a cause? His enemies kept no terms with him: where they could, they imprisoned, they ruined, they burnt his friends: the least appearance of timidity in him would have been construed the deserting his cause. He was obliged to act

sunt adversus privatos quosdam, qui tyrannidem pariter, & dogmata Papæ tueri volunt, & mihi calumniose multa impinxerunt, in hos confiteor me fuisse acerbiores, quàm pro religione aut professione deceat, neque enim me sanctum aliquem facio, neque de vita mea, sed de doctrina Christi disputo. Ibid. p. 165.

I Longe me abesse a modestia Evangelica dicit Latomus, quam doceo . . . at nunquam exegi, ut me quis modestum aut sanctum haberet, sed ut Evangelium omnes agnoscerent, data licentia in meam vitam grassandi cujusvis libidini. Hoc tamen gloriatur conscientia mea, nullius vitam, aut famam esse a me læsam, solum dogmata, studia, & ingenia in verbum Dei impia & sacrilega acerbe insectatus sum. . . . Hoc possum testari, cortex meus esse potest durior, sed nucleus meus mollis & dulcis est, nemini enim male volo, sed omnibus opto mecum quam optime consultum, porro duritia mea, ut nemini noceat, ita neminem fallit.

Contra Latomum, v. 2. Witt. ed. p. 213.

valiantly. God had given him the heart of a lion. His magnanimity was visible upon all occasions where resolution was required; and the conflicts which preceded shewed it to be the effect, not of arrogance, but conviction: and with such firmness did he persevere, that he frequently declared, the Pope should sooner come over to him, than he return to his communion; and, that he had rather fall with Christ, than reign with *Cesar*.

War being now declared; and as the controversy was to be decided by the pen, here was employment enough for the learned of both sides. Their ambition was raised by different motives. Abbies, bishopricks and the cardinalate, give an edge to the defenders of the papal power: whilst nothing was left for the others, but to fight against the stream; and the poor pittance of a *German* professorship, with the empty praise of deep erudition, was the utmost temporal reward they could expect. But, before we proceed farther, it will not be improper to enquire a little into the government of the ecclesiastical state, and the publick reasons alledged by the reformers for the secession they made. Our author is fond upon all occasions of attacking the morals, not so much indeed of the reformers themselves (*that we defy him to do*) but of that promiscuous multitude, which was supposed

supposed to embrace the tenets of some or other of them. This however is no argument at all; *erunt vitia, donec erunt homines*: and good men of every age and communion have ever lamented and confessed the wickedness of the times. And surely none but bigots would pass over the grievous actual faults of the members of their own church, to spy out all the vices that disgrace religion and humanity in those who differ from them: for every state, and every church, must, from the perverseness and the obstinacy of mankind, feel its own evils; and it is easy to retaliate such objections with interest. If the spring and head of the fountain be polluted, the streams will be so too. The numerous schisms in the papacy, the dissolute lives of the professed, the zeal of the church-men to aggrandize their own wealth and power, and the flagrant enormities of the Popes themselves (many of whom *Bellarmino*, their own doughty champion, confesses to have gone in a long train to the Devil) had raised the indignation of serious and good persons.¹ But the degeneracy and corruption of the church of *Rome* was never more visible than in the times we are now concerned with: as will be evident from a view of the exploits and characters of those sovereign pontiffs who

¹ Such as *Savonarola*, *Wickliff*, *Gerson*, *Petrarch*, &c.

presided

presided in the See of *Rome*, from the beginning of the 16th century (to go no farther back) to the end of the council of *Trent*.

The first of these holy fathers, was that detestable monster *Alexander* the 6th; a man of the most debauched and profligate character; whose government was one continued series of most horrid crimes to aggrandize his bastards, whom, after the example of his predecessor, he publickly owned. "That for lust, treachery, cruelty, rapine, and every detestable vice, he was not to be equalled," is the encomium generally given of this Pope; who, when he had blessed the church with his rule for about eleven years, met with the reward of his crimes, drinking, thro' the mistake of a servant, that poison, which he and his infamous son *Cæsar Borgia* had prepared for

1 Alexander 6. omnium qui unquam fuerunt, perfidia, libidine, sævitia sceleratissimus.

Perizonii hist. 16. sec. p. 9. ----

Cui non sinceritas, non verecundia, non veritas, non fides, non religio ulla aderat. Guiccardini, L. 1. ----

Draco qui universum orbem veneno interfecerit, immoderata ambitione, horrenda crudelitate, & inusitatæ avaritiæ exemplo, nam res sacras pariter ac profanas sine discrimine vendidit. ibid. L. 6. ----

Thuanus, L. 1. ----- Onuphrii, vit. Alex. 6. ----- Dupin 16 century, p. 14. Walchs's history of the Popes, p. 242.

And yet this man had abilities, and so has every prosperous villain!

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the benefit of some rich cardinals, whose wealth he wanted to inherit.

To him succeeded *Pius* the third, who reigning but for a few days, nothing remarkable is recorded of his pontificate. His place was immediately filled by the turbulent *Julius* the 2d; who, having more of a martial spirit than became a Pope, filled his reign with a succession of troubles. He quarrelled with the *Venetians* and with *France*; and carried his resentments to such a length, as to excommunicate *Lewis* the 12th king of *France*, and those cardinals and bishops, who, since his holiness, in violation of his oath taken at his election, would not, did of themselves summon a council at *Pisa*, and afterwards at *Milan*; where they formally suspended him from the administration of the papacy, as contumacious, as the author of schism, incorrigible, and hardened.² Having governed the church with excessive rigour, he died amidst his projects for ruining *France*; and left this eulogium behind him, that he was a sanguinary prelate, who sacrificed many thousands to his restless martial spirit, and by his other enormities rendered his name odious to posterity.³

¹ *Bellica gloria plusquam Pontificem deceret clarus.*
Onuphrii. vit. Jul. 2.

² *Dupin Eccles. hist. 16 cent. pt. 1. p. 19.*

³ *Julius 2, sacrorum nundinatione & nefandis moribus infamis*

To him succeeded *Leo* the tenth; whose only praise was this; that he was of a noble family, a man of learning, and a favourer of learned men: but his immoralities and his profaneness sullied his fame. He indulged himself in all the dissolute pleasures of life.¹ The luxuries of his court were his supreme passion: religion was out of the question; he being not only ignorant of it, but sitting loose to it: and yet this Pope, justly suspected for an infidel, could tamely hear himself complimented, in the *Lateran* council, with having divine power given unto him over every thing in heaven and earth.²

P. 8. And if, as Mr. *Philips* says, *he saw the happy days of learning in all their brightness*, he also felt the heat of them very strong, when this attention to literature, this ardour for improvement, the cultivation of the sciences

P. 8, 9, 10, 11.

infamis, bella ex bellis ferebat. Perizonius. p. 40.

Sleidan, b. 2. p. 26. *Onuphrii*. vit. Jul. 2. *Walch's* history of the Popes, p. 245. and his picture drawn at full length in the dialogue entitled *Julius 2. exclusus* inserted in *Fortin's Erasmus*, v. 2. p. 600.

1 *Id unum ei datum, quod voluptatibus, venationibus, aucupiiis effuse deditus, luxui & splendidissimis conviviiis musicæque magis quam tantum pontificem deceret, totus impenderet, pecuniæ quærendæ causa, pretio cardinales aliquot legit & officia quædam venalia excogitavit.*

Onuphrii vit. Leonis X.

2 *Antoninus Puccius, apostolicæ Cameræ clericus, in synodi Lateranensis Sessione 9^a. Leoni tribuit divinam majestatem, eidemque uni omnem in cælis & in terra tributam a Domino potestatem.*

Cited in Kertholt's hist. eccles. p. 686.

and

and Belles Lettres, and the art of printing, all contributed to the progress of the reformation; whose influence soon spread, to the astonishment and confusion of the Pope and his counsellors. Their infatuated proceedings served only to spread the doctrines they would condemn. He, like his predecessors, was involved in wars; and having deserted his old ally the king of *France*, the joy upon his defeat threw him into a slow fever, of which he died soon after, not without suspicion of poison.*

Upon his decease succeeded *Adrian* the 6th, a man of a very different turn to his luxurious predecessor. Not enjoying the infallible chair long, he was very zealous in acknowledging the necessity of a reformation, but then it was only in morals or discipline, not in faith or doctrine; and contented himself with sending out bulls and writing letters against *Luther* and his followers, but without giving way to any vehement or persecuting excesses. His endeavouring to reform some abuses in his own court, and not being so profuse as his predecessor to the wits at *Rome*, whose expectations he P. 26. did not answer, so far provoked them, that not content with throwing out pasquils against him in his life-time, they contri-

* Onuph. vit. Leon. Walch. p. 247. Fortin's life of Erasmus, v. 1. p. 285. and Perizonius quoted by him, p. 186. Sleidan, B. 3. p. 56.

buted to the unfavorable judgment passed upon him since his death; tho' the more candid of his own communion have treated his memory respectfully.¹ Except offending the poets, who took ample revenge of him, his pontificate was memorable for little more, than an ineffectual struggle to reform itself, and the canonization of *Benno* bishop of *Misnia*, a full account of which important occurrence is given by *Seckendorf*.²

P. 27.

Adrian dying in about a year, *the cloud*, says *Mr. Philips*, which had intercepted the rays of science soon broke off, a second *Medicean pontiff* succeeded. An unfortunate expression! seeing that by many he was deemed a bastard of *Leo* the tenth's: a spurious offspring being at that time no uncommon sight at the castle of *St. Angelo*. *Clement* the 7th had by no means the abilities, or the steadiness, proper for his exaltation, in the midst of those political alarms, and religious broils, which kept continually increasing. He was eminent for nothing, but a timid, fickle, irresolute, wavering conduct, and gross violation of treaties; he was also a dupe to his fears; a friend and foe by turns to the Emperor, the kings of *France* and *England*. His threatening to excom-

¹ *Dupin*, Eccles. hist. 16 cent. v. 1. p. 73. *Onuph. & Walch*.

² *Seckendorf* hist. Luth. pt. 1. p. 285. & *Fortin's Erasmus*, v. 1. p. 325.

municate the last proved the fatal blow to the papal power in *England*.

In his room was substituted *Paul* the 3d; one of the same stamp with his predecessors, and wholly bent upon raising the fortunes of his bastards and family: but the virtues of him and of his successor *Julius* the 3d, will be celebrated in the progress of this work. In *Julius's* place, was chosen *Marcellus* the 2d; whose quick migration made room for his high and haughty Holiness *Paul* the 4th, whose love of pomp and power was boundless. He fancied himself above princes, whom he imagined he could depose, and whose kingdoms he could give away at pleasure. He involved *Italy* in a war; and published the first Index of prohibited books, that the good catholicks might receive their learning, as well as their faith, at his command. His attachment to the inquisition is not to be wondered at: fire and faggot he knew, when reason failed, was a prevailing argument: he used to call it the principal secret and mystery of papacy, the true Ram to beat down heresy, and defend the apostolick See; and he had so much at heart the interest of this holy office, that he recommended it to the college of cardinals in his dying moments. When he was dead, or rather whilst he was expiring, the people of *Rome*, exasperated by his oppressions, vented their hatred in every kind of

V. 2. of insult. But our author himself has fa-
 p. 197 --- voured us with a very full account of this
 204 Pope and his character in a long note, trans-
 lated entirely from *Gratiani*; ¹ and this im-
 partiality we owe, in a great measure, to
 his squabbles with *Pole*: therefore his bio-
 grapher has not spared his memory, any
 more than the people of *Rome* did his sta-
 tue. ²

After him came *Pius* the 4th; a man of
 learning indeed, but gluttonous, intempe-
 rate, dissembling; devoted to his pleasures;
 and as much intent upon raising his family,
 as any of his pious predecessors. He carried
 his resentment against the *Caraffa* family
 for opposing him in the conclave (tho' he
 owed them many and great obligations) to
 such lengths of malice, violence and op-
 pression, ³ as to ruin them all. In his reign

¹ *Gratiani de casibus illustrium virorum*, p. 313—342.

² *Thuanus*, B. 23. A. D. 1559. *Sleidan's* continua-
 tion, p. 36. *Onuph. Walch*, p. 258. *Father Paul*, B. 5.
 p. 416. *Dupin*, 16 century, 2 v. p. 153.

³ *Novus pontifex tantum privatis commodis & carita-
 tibus indulgebat, — & fraternæ vanitatis æmulatione no-
 men & insignia Mediceæ gentis usurpaverat Cum
 vero apud se statuisset jure vel injuria, fraude sive apertâ
 vi desideria privata explere, & ex Carafarum exitio, quos
 alioqui suæ fortunæ propitios in adipiscenda summa digni-
 tate nuper expertus fuerat, magna commoda speraret, ita
 astum instruxit eaque dissimulatione usus, ut se iis bene velle
 initio fingeret, &c.*

Thuanus, L. 26. A. D. 1560. See, to the same pur-
 pose, *Onuph. vit. Pii*, 4ti.

the council of *Trent* was ended: and we shall hereafter have frequent occasion to mention his exploits.

These great, and holy and exemplary persons, who obtained the papal dignity with such honor to themselves, and whose reigns were so beneficial to the interests of Christianity, were, in the language of our Author, *the Vice-gerents of that Being, who* P. 191. *over-rules all events, and beneath whom those are bowed who uphold the world. —* These were they, by whom for 60 years and upwards, *the majesty of the church, and* P. 2. *of the first bishop of the Christian world,* were displayed in the sight of all men, to the offence, to the scandal, to the disgrace of Religion and Christianity. If *Luther*, who was an angel of light compared with these, had *his execrable intimacy with infernal inmates*; what must we think of these wretches? They seem to have had very familiar communication with *this spirit of darkness and lies*: they were his servants; they did his work; and they were rewarded by their master with the kingdoms of this world. If *Christ's Vicars*, as they are presumptuously styled, were guilty of such foul enormities, the subordinate members and inferior officers of that court could not be all Saints. Many of the cardinals and bishops were either the bastards of Popes, or children of those who were so. And could either

ther piety of morals, or purity of faith, be regarded, by those who openly neglected both? So avowed was this contempt of religion, that *Adrian* himself frankly confessed it, and yet never took one step effectually to promote a reformation; but contented himself with inveighing against and threatening those, who only laughed at and despised him for it, *Luther* and his patron the Elector *Frederick* of Saxony.¹ *Erasmus*, though writing to *Barbiri* the Pope's Secretary, could not deny the truth and justice of *Luther's* severe representation of the profligacy and dissoluteness of the *Roman* court.² He, and *Luther*, were both witnesses of the horrid profaneness committed and connived at there.³ Nay

¹ Scimus in hac sancta sede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuisse; abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, & omnia denique in perversum mutata; nec mirum si ægritudo a capite in membra, a summis pontificibus in alios inferiores prælatos descenderit. *Adrian* 6th's Instructions to the Nuncio at the Diet at Norimberg 1523. cited by *Seckendorf*, L. 1. p. 254. see also p. 258.

² Quæ *Lutherus* scripsit de tyrannide, avaritia, turpitudine *Romanæ* Curie, utinam mi *Barbiri* essent falsa, L. 21. p. 766.

³ Ego *Romæ* his auribus audiui quosdam abominandis blasphemis debacchantes in Christum, & in illius apostolos, idque multis mecum audientibus, & quidem impune, ibidem multos novi, qui commemorabant se dicta horrenda audisse a quibusdam sacerdotibus, aulæ pontificiæ ministris, idque in missa tam clarè, ut ea vox ad multorum aures pervenerit. *Eras.* Ep. *August. Steucho*, L. 26. p. 1038. *Fortin's Erasmus*, p. 516.

Mr. *Philips* himself, the most unexceptionable witness that can be desired in this case, is forced to confess, *that to the disadvantages, under which Christianity then laboured, the 15th century had likewise the misfortune to see most of the Popes during that period altogether unworthy the supreme place they held; and their Court, instead of giving that example, which the world had a right to expect from it, was infected with vices, which, like a torrent, spread themselves over all nations.*¹

The same observation was made by *Luther* when at *Rome* in 1510. who says, that the priests there could dispatch seven Masses before he could finish one: and moreover, *illi non tantum præpostera festinatione properabant, sed hæc etiam impia verba subjungebant, Passa, Passa, remitte mox beatæ Virgini Filium suum, item nonnullos panem & vinum hisce verbis consecrare solere, panis es, panis manebis, vinum es, vinum manebis.*

Hernschmidii vit. Luth. p. 24. Adamus vit. Theolog. Germ. p. 104. Fortin. p. 504.

To the same purpose was *Castellanus's* complaint of the same enormous licentiousness — *Cum pontificum Romanorum supinas libidines, avaritiam, & rapacitatem, religionis contemptum, superbiamque Cardinalium, luxum & ignaviam, nundinationesque cauponationes, & flagitia reliqua aulicorum Romanensium describeret, & cetera quæ vidisset commemoraret . . . frequenter diceret sibi esse persuasissimum, ne pontifices quidem Romanos, religionis & sacrorum Antistites, tot suis, suorumque flagitiis sceleribusque contaminatos, vere & ex animo Christum colere; quæ autem in religione facerent, retinendæ dominationis causa, veluti larva ad fallendum apposite, egregie simulare.*

Gallandius vit. Castell. cited by Dr. Fortin. Life of Erasmus, v. I. p. 504.

¹ P. 322. where instead of the 15th, he probably means

From a church, whose ruling powers were so abominably corrupted, so lost to every sense of shame and decency; it was impossible to expect that overtures of amendment could be listened to at all. The bold promoters of such a scheme, were to be despised, and treated as a set of miserable miscreants: but the matter soon grew too serious for this play. To their sorrow they found that they were engaged with those, who neither courted their favour, nor feared their frowns. From lashing their vices, and despising their ignorance, they proceeded to attack the whole system of their corrupted Faith. They charged them with putting the inventions of men upon a level with the word of God: they accused them for having introduced into the church, for gain, such doctrines and customs, as were not only not warranted by, but, contrary to, both the doctrines and usages of the first and purest ages of the church, as well as the words and intention of S S: that they had taught for doctrines of faith and salvation, the commandments of men; and thereby had literally made the word of God of no effect, through their traditions, which they had impiously made equal with the word of God.

means the 16th century. However, his testimony of either of these centuries will very readily be admitted.

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This was the substance of the reformers charge. Which was answered, partly by obloquy, and loading them with harsh names, such as heretics, schismatics, &c. and issuing out against them the severe threatenings of bulls and excommunication, and the severer sentence of the stake; and partly, by gravely haranguing on the crime of deserting the unity of the church, and accusing them of *advancing tenets not* P. 25. *known in any prior, age; or if ever they were set on foot, were condemned, as repugnant to what antiquity had always held.* And what mischiefs would not ensue, if they abolished those rules, *which all antiquity had* P. 442. *received with reverence, and practised with profit?* The former part of the reply was despised by those, who proceeded upon the sole motives of conscience. And for the latter, they averred, that to talk of the *unity of the church* was a false and idle pretence, if the church did not preserve *the unity of the faith* of Christ pure and unsullied. And as to the clamour of *novelty* urged against them, they not only expressly denied the charge; but they appealed to the SS, the uncorrupt word of God. They appealed to the Fathers of the three first centuries; nay, they ventured lower still, they challenged the authority of the Fathers, to the end of the 6th century, in behalf of their doctrines: and more than that,

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that,

P. 3.

that, they shewed them the original and progress of their own corrupted doctrines; and, with the utmost accuracy and precision, marked the date, when, in the *iron age of ignorance and barbarism*, they were respectively admitted in the church, as *articles of faith*; asserting, that the former ages were wholly ignorant of them, but that they came in imperceptibly, under the shelter of that mist and obscurity, in which the quibbles of school divinity had involved both sacred and profane literature.

They therefore only recalled men, to the study of the revealed will and oracles of God. They defended themselves under this impregnable fortress. And when not convinced, but persecuted, what *Luther* said in his defence at the Diet of *Worms*, when summoned before the Emperor himself, and commanded to recant his writings, was common to them all — *nisi convictus fuero testimoniis Scripturarum, aut ratione evidente — victus sum SS. a me adductis, captaque est conscientia in verbis Dei, revocare neque possum, neque volo quidquam, cum contra conscientiam agere, neque tutum sit neque integrum.* And another of these able and resolute heroes, publickly and solemnly declared, that if they presumed to call their doctrine a novel one, they must impeach the word of God of novelty too: — that they had only

Acta Wormatiæ Habita. Lutheri opera, v.2. p.166. ed. Witten.

restored

restored to those sacred truths that right to antiquity which had been long over-looked. Thus they went up to the source and the fountain of knowledge, to *the genuine* P. 10. *sense of the SS.* And in this manner, to retort our biographer's words upon himself, *the rays of truth and discernment were enkindled, which then enlightened mankind, and still continue to shine on it.*

Our author, fond of the feigned plea of antiquity, is ever objecting to the reformation, for want of a better argument, its supposed *innovations in religion, and its at-* P. 26. *tack upon the ancient faith, the faith of their* 109. 173. *ancestors, &c.* The common language this of 177, &c. a foiled party! But however odious an imputation this may seem to carry with it at first, yet, when maturely weighed, it is less than nothing: it is attended with nothing terrifying or formidable. If error and ignorance have been placed in the seat of

1 *Novam quod appellant doctrinam nostram, Deo sunt vehementer injurii, cujus sacrum verbum novitatis insinuari non merebatur. Illis quidem novam esse minime dubito, quibus & Christus novus est, & evangelium novum: sed qui illam Pauli concionem veterem esse noverunt, Jesum Christum mortuum propter peccata nostra, resurrexisse propter Justificationem nostram, nihil apud nos deprehendent novum. Quod diu incognita sepultaque latuit, humanæ impietatis crimen est: nunc cum Dei benignitate nobis redditur, saltem postliminii jure suam antiquitatem recipere debebat.*

Calvin's preface (before his institutions) to the king of France, p. 6. Genev. R. Stephens, 1559. Fol.

truth and knowledge; if some doctrines have been incautiously received, and for fear of contending with a prevailing party, as implicitly obeyed; it is then the duty of those endued with superiour abilities, and fortitude of mind equal to the task, to detect the imposture, and to exhibit to publick examination, the motives and principles upon which they ground their opposition: and if, as *quo antiquiora, eo veriora*, the SS. are made the resolution of their faith, there the search must end; for nothing can be obligatory upon the conscience, as *articles of faith*, but what they *clearly* inculcate. This witness or testimony will remove the objection of *novelty*; and, in its stead, will place, as a barrier to defend its votaries, the venerable name of truly primitive antiquity. But moreover falsely is this charge brought against the reformers upon another account. They were not the first, who arraigned the corruptions of the *Romish* church. There were many before them, who, from time to time, if they did not maintain quite the same doctrine, at least opposed the same articles, with *Luther* and his associates; though, from the greater improvements in literature, these latter did it with greater precision and knowledge.

P. 141. As the public, wearied with the bondage, and disgusted with the corruptions of the *morals of the Clergy*, where a change was

was loudly called for, was disposed to give a favourable attention to the endeavours of those who were thus zealous to correct these abuses: so we cannot wonder, if, under such able directors, truth and knowledge should gain admittance into the courts of princes, and even into *His* palace, who had condescended to enter into the lists, as the champion of sinking popery; whose polemical merit was notably and gratefully rewarded by his Holiness, with the title of *Defender of the Faith*; which his successors P. 26. have thought themselves better entitled to, by virtue of acts of parliament, than by donation from the bishop of *Rome*. But this fit of good-nature and cordiality did not last long. *Henry*, not meeting afterwards with that compliance he expected from his successor in a favorite scheme, broke off all connections with that see. It is not unlikely, but the slippery trick played *Wolsey*, by the Emperor's means, in the repeated disappointment of the papacy, might alienate him from his interest; and not a little chagrin his master, who had himself reason to be personally offended with the Emperor.

I To encourage his Majesty's loyal subjects to read their sovereign's learned performance, the Pope issued out a bull of indulgences for the benefit of their souls. *Librum hunc legentibus decem annorum, & totidem quadragenarum indulgentia, apostolica autoritate concessa est.* *Stype's memorials*, v. i. p. 34.

For

For some years, *Charles* the 5th had found it necessary to court the friendship of the king of *England*. In one of his expeditions here for that purpose, we are told, that he was solemnly contracted in person to the princess *Mary*, *per verba de præsenti*, under pain of excommunication, and the penalty of a very considerable forfeit.¹ His affairs however soon after becoming more and more favourable to him, not content with barely breaking off the match, he did it with a slur upon the lady's honor; because his *Cortez* or council said she was *illegitimate*, as being born in an unlawful marriage,² by One who had been wife to his elder brother. This publick affront, with another of the same sort urged by the king of *France's* ambassador, revived those objections, which *Henry* had himself, at the beginning, made against the legality of his marriage: and it does not appear, that he ever cordially acquiesced in it, farther

¹ *Le-Grand*, v. 1. p. 63. *Godwin's annals*, p. 34. A. D. 1524. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 48. and Lord *Herbert*, p. 315. who says, from *Bellay*, that the King of *France*, (who had been prisoner in *Spain*, ever since the battle of *Pavia*) paid this forfeit for the Emperor, as part of his ransom.

² *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 5. *Heylin's hist. of queen Mary*, p. 3. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 80, 83. But *Burnet* afterwards, says, that *Henry*, at the Emperor's request, gave him a discharge, in full form, of his obligations to marry the princess, without taking any notice of the objections against the legality of her mother's marriage. *Hist. ref.* v. 3. p. 33.

than

than *Catharine's* good behaviour, and the Pope's dispensation, had quieted his conscience. It is unjust and cruel therefore, to lay the rise of *the divorce* upon *Wolsey* and P. 28. say, it *was set on foot* by his revengeful spirit.

If any stress is to be laid upon *Grynæus's* letter to *Bucer*, *Henry's* fears and scruples had disquieted him long before any publick notice had been taken of them.¹ The marriage with *Spain* being broke off, a treaty of the same nature was proposed between the princess *Mary* and a Son of the King of *France*; which was refused, “till
“it were known whether she be the King
“of *England's* lawful daughter or not, for
“well known it is, that he begat her on his
“brother's wife, which is directly against
“God's law and his precept.”² This objection was started by the bishop of *Tarbes*, who was the *French* ambassador at our court, and was in that capacity two years before in *Spain*, treating for his Sovereign's ransom, at the very time that the *Cortez* of *Toledo* were sitting which prevailed upon the Emperor to break off the match with *Eng-*

¹ In the year 1531. the king declared to *Grynæus*, that for seven years he had abstained from the queen upon account of his scruples. So that the king must have had them so early as 1524.

Grynæus's letter to *Bucer* referred to by *Burnet*, v. i. p. 38.

² *Stowe*, p. 541, & 543. *Herbert*, p. 244.

land; and therefore the bishop must know their reasons for it, and what passed in the *Cortez*.¹ Since therefore *Catherine's* own family, and the King of *France* (who, in his present condition, could not subsist without *Henry's* friendship, and had lately received the highest obligations from him)² objected to, or questioned, the validity of his marriage; the King himself had sufficient motives to be alarmed, and might well be anxious about the succession to his crown. He could not but recollect, as well his own reluctance, as that his father had made him sign a notarial act protesting against it, and renouncing the contract made in his minority.³ In pursuance of this act, he waved the consummation of the marriage, from one time to another, till after his father's death; and then, for political more than religious reasons, submitted to the determination of the majority of his council. Such circumstances could never be entirely forgotten: they might be suppressed for a time: but if ever they came to be agitated again, they must burst out with greater violence; which we shall shortly find they did.

The mention of this business of the divorce, and *Pole's* arrival in *England*, gives our author an opportunity of entertaining

¹ *Carte*, v. 3. p. 84.

² *Herbert*, p. 315.

³ *Carte*, v. 3. p. 3. *Heylin's* history of *Mary*, p. 2.
Burnet, v. 1. p. 36. his

his readers, with a motley character of *Henry*. He expatiates so much at first upon his good qualities, that one would be P. 29, &c. tempted to think he was writing a panegyrick: but it is only to wound the deeper, that, like his hero *Pole*, he may give the keener edge to his invectives, by a plausible impartiality. But this uncommon candour and good-nature does not last long; and is succeeded by a torrent of the most scurrilous and implacable rancour, which ends not even with his life. How far *Henry* really deserved this very injurious treatment, will be better seen, when our historian brings us to the close of his life. We will leave him, in the mean time, in full possession of the favourable character here bestowed upon him.

Now the great Cause of the Divorce began to be more publickly debated, as the legality of the marriage depended solely upon the validity of the Pope's dispensation; which was thought to be above every thing, and incontestably admitted, as coming P. 59. from *that tribunal, to which causes of such importance were wont to be referred*. Nothing for many years had been said against it. But the papal power was now called in question: and that the Bishop of *Rome* could not dispense with any of the positive laws of God, or enable Christians to violate them, was one of the first benefits accruing from the promoters of

of the reformation. If an action was sinful, they averred, the Pope could not not make it virtuous, or innocent. This advantage therefore *Henry*, tho' averse to their doctrines, reaped from the reformers; not to think so highly, as formerly, of the Pope's omnipotency. But yet willing to have his sanction, he layed his pleas before him; he urged the tenderness of an awakened scrupulous conscience; he desired redress from that court, that a dispensation granted, upon false suggestions, without his consent or knowledge, might not remain in full force to the detriment of himself and his kingdom, but be set aside by the same authority from whence it received all its force and sanction.

To assert that *Henry*, in this appeal, acted only from lust and resentment, or satiety, is uttering a cruel and unjustifiable censure against him; and what his behaviour to *Catherine* sufficiently contradicted. He never was personally rude or boisterous to her, but ever spoke respectfully of her: and the church-historian, Mr. *Dod*, always bitter enough against him, is forced to acknowledge (though he does it with an ill grace) *that there are indeed some remote circumstances of conscience which plead in his favour.*²

¹ *Collier's eccles. hist.* v. 2. p. 25. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 86.

² *Dod's church history*, v. 1. p. 72.

Mr. *Philips* pronounces, that *the earliest* P. 38.
document which remains of these proceedings,
is a letter of Secretary Pace to the King, in
which he informs him, that he had treated
with Dr. Wakefield of the Divorce, and that
the Doctor was ready to resolve the Question,
either in the negative or affirmative, just as
the King thought proper. . . . This letter,
says he, is dated in 1526, and, to Wakefield's
*eternal infamy, is still extant.*¹ — But to his
 own infamy and confusion, all that he here
 asserts is false and basely scandalous. He
 had *Burnet's* 3d vol. of the history of the
 reformation before him, and might have
 learnt better from it.² But whether he
 consulted it at all; or, if he did, whether
 his care or his integrity failed him, I leave
 to his own conscience, and the reader's
 judgment, to determine. *Pace's* letter is
 indeed extant; and a very honest one it is.
 As the bishop truly observes, it contains
 nothing, but what is honourable for the
 King, for himself, and for his friend. He
 informs the King, that he had talked with
Wakefield, whom he found willing to exa-
 mine and discuss the cause, if he could
 certainly know, *Whether your Grace wolde*
be contente to here the trouth in this matter,
whether it were ayenste you or for you; and
if he was commanded, He wolde undoubtydly

¹ *Le Grand*, tom. 3. page 1. --- cited by Mr. *Philips*.

² *Burnet's* Introduction to the 3d vol. Ref. p. iv,
 v. and history, p. 36.

shewe unto your Hyghness such thynges, as no man within your realme can atteyne unto or shew the like and as well for you as against you. These are his words: and these are the only passages in the whole letter, that could possibly give occasion to *Le Grand's* wicked calumny; which *Mr. Philips* hath adopted, and must therefore answer for. Inveterate malice alone can discover a single circumstance in it, that can cast a stain upon *Wakefield's* memory; or shew that he was ready to resolve the Question, either in the negative or affirmative, just as the King should think proper.

A letter of *Wakefield* to the King, on the same occasion, and written at the same time, is also extant. This, neither *Burnet*, nor *Le-Grand*, ever saw: but *Mr. Philips* himself might have seen it; as it is to be met with in the appendix of so well known a book, as *Knight's* life of *Erasmus*. *Wakefield* in this letter tells the King, that he woll and can defende his cause or Question in all the Universities in Chriſtendom, by the authority of scripture, of the best Interpreters of the Hebrews, and of the holy Doctors, both Greeks and Latins in Chriſt's Faythe. He adds, *I have and wol in ſuche maner answer to the Biſhop of Rochester's booke, that I truſte he ſhall be aſhamy'd to waade or meddyl any further in the matter.*²

¹ *Le Grand*. hiſt. du divorce, v. i. p. 46.

² *Pace*, and *Wakefield's* letters are both inserted in the

It must be observed, that neither of these letters was written in 1526, but both in 1527, in which year the bishops had actually entered into a publick examination of the validity of the marriage. Probably therefore *Pace's* letter is not the *earliest document* (as 'tis called) *which remains of this proceeding*. That it is not so in fact, is most evident from hence. *Pace's* and *Wakefield's* letters were plainly written nearly at the same time; but in the latter, mention is made of *Fisher's* book, and of an answer to it then in some forwardness: therefore *Fisher's* book is an earlier document than *Pace's*. *Wakefield* had indeed altered his opinion of this matter; and took up the pen in behalf of the King's cause, for a very cogent and defensible reason, because he was now persuaded, that the marriage with *Arthur* was indeed consummated. A reason deemed so strong, that *Bellay* declared, and to *Campegio* himself, that if the consummation could be proved, neither the Pope, nor cardinals, could maintain the validity of the dispensation. And all the answer the legate himself could make, was this weak reply, "that tho' his reasoning
"was invincible, yet his own was support-

the appendix to Dr. *Knight's* Life of *Erasmus*. No. 8, and 9. p. xxv, and xxviii. See more of *Pace* in *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* 2d ed. v. i. p. 29. and of *Wakefield*. *ibid.* p. 64.

1 *Collier*, v. 2. p. 24.

"able;

“able; because to plead the Pope could not
 “dispense, would be to subvert the papal
 “power which was unlimited;’ and it
 “was, in his opinion, better to say, the
 “dispensation was granted upon false sug-
 “gestions, than to fall into the latter incon-
 “venience.”²

P. 38.

It is of very little importance to enquire, whether *Wolsey* himself first, or *Longland* the King’s confessor, by his instigation, as is here affirmed from *Saunders*,³ moved this doubt to the King. Certain it is, the King, in his speech to the legates, at the court at *Black-Friers*, he publickly exculpated them both from this accusation; and “de-
 “clared his scruple to have arisen from
 “the bishop of *Bayon*’s objections to the
 “legitimacy of his daughter *Mary*. That
 “when, after that, he perceived his con-
 “science so doubtful, he moved it in
 “confession to bishop *Longland* then his
 “ghostly father.”⁴ And this is confirmed in a MS. life of Sir *Thomas More*, wrote not many years after *Longland*’s death; in which it is said, “that the bishop being told what
 “rumour ran, that the very truth might
 “be known of him, answered, that in very

1 *Bellay*’s dispatches. *Le Grand*, v. 3. p. 196. and p. 216. cited in *Carte*’s history, v. 3. p. 92.

2 *Bellay*. *Le Grand*, v. 3. p. 217.

3 *Saunders de Schismate Anglic.* p. 10. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 37.

4 *Stow*’s Annals, p. 542, 543.

“deed

“ deed, he did not break the matter after
 “ that sort as is said ; but the King brake
 “ the matter to him first, and never left
 “ urging him, until he had won him to
 “ give his consent.” So that if any credit
 be given to this, or the King’s solemn af-
 firmation, the doubt was first moved by him-
 self.

Whilst this affair was so deeply canvassed,
Pole, who was then in *England*, that he
 might not be involved in these contentions,
 retired to an house in the *Carthusian* mo-
 nastery at *Sbene*, where he lived in so re-
 tired and quiet a manner, that since no ma-
 terials or anecdotes could be produced to
 illustrate this part of his life; our Biographer,
 following *Quirini*’s steps,² descants upon
 the praises of the excellent *Dean Colet*, who P. 46.
 built the house in which *Pole* lived during
 this retirement. He tells us, that the Dean
*was very conversant in the writings of the Fa-
 thers, and particularly in the holy Scriptures,
 of which the commentaries he has left are*

1 Corrections of the two first volumes of the Refor-
 mation, supposed to be written by the learned Mr. *Ba-
 ker* of Cambridge from a MS. Coll. *Eman. Cant.*

Burnet, 3 vol. Ref. appendix, p. 744.

2 *Quoniam vero ejus (in Anglia) biennii studiis illus-
 trandis, ne unas quidem literas seu Poli ad alios, seu alio-
 rum ad ipsum, nacti sumus, quas proferamus, pauca quæ-
 dam earum loco, de Johanne Coletto, ejusque ædibus, necnon
 de Britannicæ Literaturæ statu, qui Polo in Patriam reduci
 sese obtulit, trademus. V. I. p. 230.*

an abundant proof. Colet was indeed a truly respectable and amiable character: and the world would be much obliged to Mr. *Philips*, if he would communicate the *commentaries* above mentioned; for what comes from Colet's pen must be excellent. But the misfortune is, those who knew him better and personally have lamented, that the Dean could not be prevailed upon to publish any thing, his modesty being as great as his learning: for except the rudiments of grammar, and his famous convocation Sermon, there is nothing of his extant.

In the list of Colet's writings, as drawn up in *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.*² and the *Biographia Britannica*, there are many titles

¹ *Cum enim esset a natura & eruditione facundus, ac dicenti mira suppeteret orationis ubertas, tamen scribens subinde labeatur in his quæ solent notare critici. Atque hac ni fallor gratia a libris scribendis abstinebat, atque utinam non abstinuisset; nam hujus viri cogitationes quacunque etiam lingua proditas optarim.*

Erasmus Jodoc. Jonæ Erphordiensis, L. 15. p. 480. See the whole of this very remarkable letter in *Fortin's Erasmus*, v. 2. p. 310.

To the same purpose, *Geo. Lilly*, son of the famous grammarian *William Lilly*, the first master of the Dean's school, and his most intimate friend, says of him, *nihil autem quod extat in scriptis reliquit, nec multo eum scripsisse constat.*

Virorum aliquot in Britannia Elogia, 1559. 8vo. cited in *Knight's life of Colet*, p. 252. see also p. 196, 197.

² *Wood's Athenæ*, 2d edit. v. 1. p. 12, 13. *Biog. Brit. (Colet)* p. 1405.

of MSS. mentioned, some of which are preserved in the libraries at *Cambridge*, but written, says *Wood*, so that few understood them. In his will indeed, *he leaves his MSS. in Parchment, as comments on Paul's epistles and abbreviations with many such other to his executor's disposition.*¹ But none of these have ever been published: nor does there appear, in the only fair legible MSS. of his preserved in *Dr. Gale's* collection,² or in his will, the least tincture of popery. We cannot therefore help expressing our admiration, how our writer should so far forget himself, as to speak so favourably of *Colet*; who had got much above the prejudices of his times. He had a liberal, a solid, and an enlarged way of thinking; and was rather more open in expressing his abhorrence of the superstition and foppery of the *Romish* church, than even *Erasmus* himself thought was consistent with prudence. For *Erasmus* in his treatise *de modo orandi Deum*, censuring the mistaken Invocation of Saints, and the exposing their relicks, tells us, “that he and the dean being joint
“spectators of the greasy relicks of *Thomas*
“*a Becket*, *Colet* could not refrain express-
“ing his indignation at this great instance

¹ *Knight*, p. 466.

² *Knight's* Introduction to his life, p. viii.

“ of religious folly.” His thorough good sense had emancipated him from the jargon of the schools, and the theology of the times : and had his life been spared a few years longer, his piety, learning and activity, would have placed him at the head of the reformers of his own country.

I In Anglia offerunt osculandum calceum divi Thomæ quondam Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis qui forte calceus est alicujus Balatronis . . . vidi ipse, cum ostentarent linteola lacera, quibus vir ille dicitur abstersisse muccum narium, abbatem & cæteros qui astabant aperto Scriniolo venerabundos procidere ad genua, ac manibus etiam sublati, adorationem gestu repræsentare. Ista Johanni Coletto, nam is mecum aderat, videbantur indigna, & mihi ferenda videbantur, donec se daret opportunitas, ea citra tumultum corrigendi.

Eras. modus orandi Deum, p. 90. ed. Leyden. 24°. 1641.

In his dialogue *de Peregrinatione Religionis ergo*, he gives a fuller and more particular account of the Dean's holy warmth at such superstitious and offensive fopperies, under the feigned name of *Gratianus Pullus*; whose free remarks astonished the monks, and made *Erasmus* tremble. For the prior of the *Augustinian* monastery at *Canterbury*, offering to these two strangers a blessed clout of that precious Saint to be kissed, *Gratianus* heic parum gratus, non sine fastidii significatione, digitis contrectavit unum, & contemtim reposuit, porrectis labiis, veluti Poppismum imitans; nam hic illi mos erat, si quid offenderet, quod tamen contemnendum esse judicaret. Meum animum simul & pudor, & timor discruciant. *Gratianus Pullus* (who is said in this dialogue to be & *Anglus*, & notus, nec mediocris authoritatis vir) and *Colet*, must be the same, from the similarity of the circumstances.

Eras. Dial. Per. Rel. ergo. Ed. var. p. 441. See this confirmed by Dr. Fortin. Life of Erasmus, v. 2. p. 706.

We

We are assured from the best authority, that he dissented greatly from many of the received religious opinions of the times; and, as he never attempted to conceal or disguise his dislike of them, would in private be very open in expressing his sentiments. Monkery and its state was the frequent object of his avowed contempt. He was a diligent reader of heretical books; and made no scruple to declare, that he learned more from them, than from those dogmatical writers, who only flattered themselves, and the heads of their own party.¹ These free sentiments created him such trouble, that very hardly his body living, or dead, could escape the fire.²

Such was the excellent spirit of Dean Colet, one of the forerunners of the reformation: and we can hardly think, that Mr. Phillips was aware of the contents of that letter of *Erasmus* to which he so obligingly

¹ *Opinionibus a vulgo multum diffidebat, sed mira prudentia hac in re sese attemperabat aliis . . . inter amicos ac doctos liberrime profitebatur, quid sentiret. ---- erga monasteria, quæ nunc falso nomine pleraque sic vocantur, minimum habebat affectus. --- Nullus erat liber tam hæreticus, quem ille non attente evolveret, dicens se plus aliquotiens ex illis capere fructus, quam ex horum libris, qui sic omnia definiunt, ut frequenter adulentur Coryphæis, nonnunquam & sibi ipsis.*

Eras. ep. Jodoc. Jonæ, L. 15, p. 480. ed Basil. Froben.

² *Knight's life of Colet, p. 86 ---- 94.*

P. 47. referred us for the *sketch of his friend's life*. But meeting in *Quirini* with the quotation of the note, said by the cardinal to be an extract from EPISTLE 435, and wrote to *Justus Jonas* of ERFURT, 'our hasty, ignorant, blundering transcriber boldly puts *Jonas* down for *Bishop of Hereford*; and refers to the book of *Erasmus's* epistles PAGE 435, not considering, how many free strictures there are in that memorable letter, against some of the doctrines and customs of his own church.

P. 51. Whilst *Pole* was pursuing his studies in the Dean's lodgings, the affair of the divorce was prosecuted with great ardour, and laid before the *Court of Rome*, which, says Mr. *Phillips*, had carried her condescension to *Henry* as far as even the appearances of equity would allow. The Pope was then but in bad plight, having lately fled from *Rome*, where he had been besieged by the Imperialists; and with great difficulty, and in disguise, had reached *Orvieto*, when *Henry's* ambassadors were introduced to his frightened and discomfited Holiness. They soon found, that he was as much a captive there, and in awe of the Emperor, as when besieged by him in the castle of *St. Angelo* —

I *Eidem* (sc. *Coletto*) quodammodo parentavit in Epist. 435. idque ut *Jodocæ Jonæ* ERFORDIENSI satisfaceret.

Quirini, v. i. p. 231.

aliqua mutatio soli, (as they express it) *sed nulla libertatis*. Their very full and satisfactory dispatches to *Wolsey* represent him in the utmost panick, not venturing to speak out; sometimes giving them hopes of yielding to their desires; sometimes warily protracting the debates. One frank acknowledgment however be made, which was, "he was not learned; and to say truth albeit it were a saying in the law, that "*Pontifex habet omnia jura in scrinio pectoris*, yet God never gave him the key to "open *illud scrinium*."

The Pope did indeed, at the ambassadors request, grant a decretal bull, to confirm what the legates should determine, and thereby make their sentence irrevocable; but it was upon the strictest assurances of secrecy, that it should be communicated to none but the King and *Wolsey*, and that very privately: however his fears returned, and his heart soon misgave him for this concession; for the Emperor being master of *Italy*, he ordered *Campegio* to burn it. But afterwards, by *Gardiner's* importunity he signed a promise or *pollicitation* as it was called, not to revoke the commission grant-

¹ The King's ambassador's letter to *Wolsey*, in *Strype's* memorials, v. i. hist. p. 91. and 101. Records, p. 46. and 62.

ed to the legates, but to ratify their decrees, which should be final.¹

P. 51.

Mr. *Philips* seems to confound these two bulls together. The decretal one, was burnt by *Campegio*.² But the other is still extant in our records.³ And lord *Herbert*, tho' he speaks doubtfully of it, yet adds, "that
"as divers original dispatches both before
"and after, give some touches of it; so it
"may challenge better credit than to be
"thought a minute, and much less a coun-
"terfeit and supposed piece, which is also
"the more probable, in that the Pope
"granted ampler testimonies than this in
"favour of the divorce."⁴ Mr. *Philips* endeavours to set this aside, which he calls *the conjecture of this nobleman*, from *the style in which the Pope, soon after, wrote to his legates*. But this is no reason: for the Pope was ever irresolute, shuffling backwards and forwards, just as he was awed by the Em-

P. 52.
Note.

¹ *Carte*, v. 3. p. 91. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 58. and 66. Records, p. 40. and 41. &c.

² There was however a copy of it taken, and it is inserted at the end of *Anti-Sanderus*, p. 200, of which the author says, *tabulae illae tanta solertia custodiebantur, ut non in multorum manus exiverint, nostras tamen (uti fit) non evaserunt*, p. 15. See also *Strype's* life of Arch-bp *Parker*, p. 382, 383. *Herbert*, p. 279, who took it from *Anti-Sanderus*, and says, that he met, in our archives, some dispatches that make it probable.

³ *Burnet*, v. 3. p. 362. *Herbert*, p. 249.

⁴ *Herbert*, p. 248.

peror,

peror, in whose power he was; or, as he might have cause to apprehend the King of *England's* defection (who began openly to censure him for his dilatory, fickle conduct)¹ if his requests were not complied with. *Burnet* indeed says, "that lord *Hert* seemed in some doubt concerning it, "but," he adds, "probably he had not seen "the letter that *Wolfey* wrote to *Gardiner*, "in which he mentions the *Pollicitation*, "that he had in his hands, with several "other letters, that mention it very frequently."²

Campegio, the other, long-expected, legate, being at last arrived, after a delay of six months from the time of his appointment; though he opened his commission, soon after his arrival, yet he managed it with the same affected delays, which had procrastinated his arrival, agreeably to the Pope's injunctions. But we are told, fresh ambassadors were sent to *Rome* upon a most P. 53 extraordinary commission, . . . to ask the Pope, as of their own motion, to permit the King to marry again, in case the Queen entered on a monastic life. What the overtures were, are related by *Burnet* :³ and what *Vannes* was to say, as of himself, was, to lay be-

¹ *Strype's* Memorials, v. i. p. 108.

² *Burnet*, v. 3. p. 37.

³ *Burnet*, v. i. p. 60. and also more fully by *Collier*, v. 2. p. 29.

fore the Pope seriously, the ill consequences of any ungrateful behaviour to the King, if his Holiness, for partial respects and fears, should refuse the King's desires. And, if their instructions were as here maintained, they did not differ from his Holiness's own opinion. For *Sanders*, whose authority Mr. *Philips* will not object to, relates, that upon a warm remonstrance from the Emperor, against hearing the cause in *England*, the Pope sent four messengers after *Campegio*, who was then upon his Journey, charging him to proceed as slowly as possible; to endeavour to reconcile the King and Queen; and, if that could not be effected, "*then to try to persuade her to take on her the religious state*: if neither of these could be brought about, not to presume to give any definitive sentence, without fresh and express commandment from himself."

P. 54. When the hearing of the cause came on, the Queen, says Mr. *Philips*, produced the original dispensation from Spain, the genuineness of which her managers sufficiently proved. Our writer is one of those, who think little more is requisite to establish truth, than a bold and presumptuous affirmation. This dispensation here produced was the famous

1 Ibid. See the Instructions. Records, p. 47.

2 *Sanders* de schismate, p. 32. *Herbert*, p. 252.

Breve of *Julius* 2d, contrived to remedy the defects of a former bull, by allowing the 2d marriage with *Henry*, tho' the former with *Arthur* had been consummated; to which many strong objections were made. That it appeared not in the records either of *England* or *Spain*, but was said to be found amongst the papers of the *Spanish* ambassador *de Puebla*, who was here at the concluding of the match: that many names were falsely written: that it bore date the very same day that the bull was granted: and that it allowed the consummation, which the *Queen* herself denied.¹ So that it was looked upon as a forgery; and the *Queen's* proctors made no reply.

The *Queen* indeed did aver she came a virgin to *Henry's* bed. This will but ill agree with what *Burnet* relates, "that the *Spanish* ambassador, had by his master's orders, taken proofs of the consummation of her marriage with *Arthur*, and sent them into *Spain*."² And the King, in a minute sent to his ambassador at *Rome*, orders him to acquaint his Holiness, "that when the dispensation for the marriage between him and *Catherine* was obtained, a league was renewed and concluded be-

¹ *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 68. *Records*, p. 67. *Herbert*, p. 264, 269. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 93.

² *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 35.

“tween their parents the Kings of *Eng-*
 “*land* and *Spain*. In which league is
 “also plainly mentioned and expressed in
 “two places thereof, that the marriage be-
 “tween our said brother and her was so-
 “lemnized and perfectly consummated.”¹

P. 57.

The presumption is certainly against her :
 and either she, or Prince *Arthur*, must
 have maintained a falsehood ; the one out
 of vanity, the other from interest. For
 there were as full and clear proofs of the
 consummation, as an affair of so secret a
 nature would allow, and what is every
 where admitted as sufficient evidence : and
 though *the witnesses* are here said to be
garbled ; they were such as, from their rank
 and station at court, were privy to those
 transactions, and well acquainted with all
 the particulars.² Abundantly sufficient are
 they to confute the ridiculous fiction in-
 vented by *Sanders*, of an ancient grave ma-
 tron being in the same bed with *Arthur*
 and *Catherine*, to prevent consummation.
 Neither did *Catherine's* managers attempt
 to invalidate the testimony of any one of
 the witnesses. And moreover, if *Catherine*
 was so sure of her coming a *virgin* to *Hen-*
ry's bed, why did she keep the court and

¹ *Burnet*, 3. v. Ref. hist. p. 86. Records, p. 391.
Carte, v. 3. p. 119. citing *Rymer*, v. 14, p. 448.

² *Herbert*, p. 270.

kingdom in such suspense after *Arthur's* decease? that it was six months after that event, before *Henry* took the title of Prince of *Wales*, that it might be known whether she was pregnant or no; "*Arthur* being upon the point of 16 years of age when he died, and forward and able in body." And as she herself, for the better security of her latter marriage, got the supposed 2d bull with the clause (*vel forsan cognitam*) which was not in the former, inserted; it renders this her affirmation the more suspicious, and liable to invincible objections.

When these evidences were gone through, and the final determination eagerly expected, *Campegio* prorogued the Court: which P. 57. abrupt transaction was owing to the Pope's having, at the request of the Emperor, revoked the cause to *Rome*; peace being lately made between them. And but for this, it is very likely, the legates would have determined the cause in the King's favour; having lately sent his Holiness a memorable dispatch, wherein they shew themselves inclinable to satisfy the king, and "represent the bad consequences of a refusal. They confess the impolitic behaviour of the queen: they complained, that whereas other Popes had made no scruple to make and change divine laws at their pleasure;

1 *Bacon's hist. of Hen. 7, p. 118.*

"yet

“yet one Pope sticks so much at the repealing what his predecessor did, as if that were more sacred, and not to be meddled with.”¹ But no remonstrances could avail: and the Pope, in obedience to the Emperor, revoked the cause to himself; which, and with great reason, irritated *Henry* much, and hastened those legal parliamentary proceedings, by which the Pope’s power in *England* was abrogated. But his Holiness was under a constant dread of the Emperor, who kept a rod continually over his head: and himself knew, should any rigid enquiry be ever made into his own election to the papacy, upon how precarious a footing he held the infallible chair. His legitimate birth was much questioned: and cardinal *Colonna*, a creature of the Emperor, had got a note from him, promising him preferment, in case he should, by his assistance, get the papacy; and this he every now and then, to awe him, threatened to produce.²

Thus ended, without any decision, the legates commission.³ The Pope taking the

¹ *Burnet*, v. i. p. 68, 69. *Records*, p. 67.

² Father *Paul’s* hist. of the council of *Trent*, B. i. p. 42. *Eng.* edit. and *Courayer’s Fr.* ed. v. i. p. 65. note. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 83.

³ For a succinct account of the legates proceedings, consult *Burnet*, v. 3. p. 46. See also very full and particular extracts from *Bellay’s* dispatches in the same vol. p. 39, 42, 49, 54, &c. relating to the divorce, taken

determination of this affair entirely to himself, *Henry* having already experienced his timidity, dissimulation and partiality, refused to stand to the award of so manageable a judge, but appealing from him, he referred the consideration of his case to the free and impartial examination of the learned in *the most celebrated universities*. It is indeed P. 59. to be feared, that, in this, as in all cases, carried on with violence and heat, the managers might not always conduct themselves with that attention to order and decorum, which calm and unconcerned posterity would justify and approve. That *Henry* might not occasionally exert some undue *pecuniary influences*, over particular universities or persons, cannot perhaps be absolutely denied : but the same was done, and with greater profusion, by the friends of the opposite party. *Cæsar*, says *Croke*, *minis, precibus, pretio, & Sacerdotiis, partim territat nostros, partim confirmat suos.*¹ Whereas he, who was one of the busiest and ablest of the king's agents abroad, declares and protests, "he never gave nor

ken from *Le-Grand*, v. 3. and much more interesting, than the trifling extracts about the sweating sickness referred to by *Mr. Philips*, p. 48 --- 50. but as they confirm and establish the narration of that transaction given us by our own historians, they were, for that reason undoubtedly, omitted by our impartial biographer.

¹ *Herbert*, p. 329.

"pro-

P. 15.

“promised any Divine any thing, till he
 “had first freely written his mind, and what
 “he then gave, was rather an honourable
 “present than a reward: and there is a bill
 “of his accounts yet extant, whereby his
 “gifts appear plainly to be nothing more
 “than small acknowledgments: so that it
 “was said at *Ferrara*, that they who wrote
 “for the King had but a few crowns a-
 “piece, and they who wrote on the other
 “side had good benefices.”¹ The universi-
 ties of *Bononia* and *Padua* refused the offer
 of money with these words, *quod a Spiritu*
sancto gratis accepimus, gratis & libenter
*impertimur.*² In the latter place, the King’s
 cause was earnestly supported by *Leonicus*,
Pole’s great friend, mentioned before with
 so much honour; who was very instru-
 mental in devising the instrument of that
 university in corroboration of the King’s
 cause.³ And if all these learned men were
 bribed, and were so shamefully prostitute,
 as for a few crowns to contradict their ho-
 nour and consciences, let Mr. *Philips* make
 the best apology he can for them. They
 were sound members of his communion:
 and if they had neither the fear of God,
 or the Pope, before their eyes, we cannot

¹ Ibid. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 90.

² *Herbert*, p. 329.

³ *Burnet*, v. 1. Records, p. 88. *Strype’s* memorials,
 v. 1. p. 143. Append. p. 106.

help

help it. Only gentler words and some proof may be expected, when censures so severe are passed. ¹

He has indeed vouchsafed some commendation to the *protestant divines*, ² for their up- P. 59.
right acting in this matter: and it was very much to their honour, that the divorce met no where with greater difficulty or opposition, than amongst them. ³ There is an earnest letter of *Luther* extant, (as every thing he wrote is so) to *Barnes* the King's agent in *Germany*, vehemently dissuading the divorce; and if nothing else would do, that rather than approve of it, he would recommend it to the king to take two wives: and in this opinion, this grand heresiarch hit upon the same expedient, which his Holiness himself had proposed to the King's ambassador at *Rome*. ⁴

¹ The Determinations of the universities, *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 87 ---- 91. Records, p. 89 ---- 94.

² In a quotation from *Larrey* taken from *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 240.

³ All the *Lutherans* be utterly against your highness in this cause, and have letted as much with their wretched power, malice, without reason or authority as they could and might, as well here, as in *Padua* and *Ferrara*, where be no small companies of them.

Croke to the King, *Burnet*. v. 1. Records, p. 88.

⁴ *Antequam tale repudium probarem, potius Regi permitterem, alteram Reginam quoque ducere, & exemplo Patrum & Regum duas simul uxores, seu Reginas habere.*

Lutherus Antonio Amario Anglo, (for so *Barnes* was called in *Germany*) in col. ep. *Halæ*, 4^{to}. 1717. p. 289.

Amongst those, whom *Henry* employed abroad to solicit his cause, he ordered his kinsman and pensioner *Pole*, to solicit his cause at *Paris*. A most ungrateful and disagreeable commission; and which could not but give him great uneasiness: for he seems very early to have acted an open and a fair part, and from the beginning to have publicly opposed measures he could not approve. The faithful and accurate Mr. *Strype* has taken notice of a circumstance omitted by other historians, which is, that so early as 1530, he put into the King's hands a dissuasive from his attempt, which was delivered to *Cranmer* for his examination of it; who acknowledged, "the goodly eloquence of it, both of words and sentence. "The intent of it was to persuade the King, upon merely political motives, to commit his great cause to the judgement of the Pope, wherein, says *Cranmer*, me seemeth he lacketh much judgement." It was, afterwards in another form, work'd up and inserted in his famous treatise *de unitate ecclesiastica*.

Superioribus diebus, pontifex secreto, veluti rem quam magni faceret, mihi proponit conditionem hujusmodi, concedi posse, vestrae majestati, ut duas uxores habeat.

Herbert, p. 330. Carte, v. 3. p. 107.

I *Strype's Life of Cranmer*, p. 6. Records, p. 3. in a letter wrote by Dr. *Cranmer* to the earl of *Wiltshire*, before his ambassys abroad.

Henry's

Henry's indignation and resentment at the disappointment he met with, that the legate's pompous commission should end in nothing but smoke, shewed itself in falling with the utmost severity upon his favourite, *Wolfey*; whose ruin from that time was inevitable. And this mighty cardinal soon experienced the fickleness of worldly power and fortune; being suddenly hurried from the greatest prosperity, to the lowest degree of dejection and adversity. But notwithstanding this reverse of fortune, his condition was never so bad, as our Author represents it, when he says, that he *must* P. 63. *have perished through want, had not a few well-disposed persons, . . . relieved him.* During all his troubles, he never was without a great number of attendants suitable to his station and dignity. At the first breaking out of the storm, when his effects were seized, he lay under some difficulties (and much to his honour was it) with regard to a present resource of money, to support his train of gentlemen and yeomen, *which was, says his servant Cavendish, no small company; though they had good store of all kinds of victuals, and of beer and Wine plenty; till the grateful and the faithful Cromwell, who was the chief of those few well-disposed persons, with some others of his household, by their generous contributions, enabled him*

F

to

to discharge his menial servants. ' But no sooner was the King acquainted with his distress, than he restored to him the revenues of *York*, and of *Winchester* also, or at least a large yearly pension out of it, a 1000 marks of which he ordered to be immediately paid him; and sent him by *Cromwell* 10,000 pounds of his benevolence, telling him, *he should not lack, and bidding him be of good comfort*. He also sent or gave him as much goods and plate, as amounted to upwards of 6000 pounds. And his retinue, when he set out to go into *Yorkshire*, was very considerable; having 160 horse in his train, and 72 carts of household furniture. ' Great preparations were making at *York*, for a magnificent installation, when the king interrupted the splendour of this feast: and death, soon after, put an end to all his troubles.

When he retired from *London*, upon the loss of the great seal, and the breaking out of the King's displeasure, he staid some time at *Asher*; and from thence removed to *Richmond*, where he lay in the same lodgings that *Pole* used to reside, in the house built by dean *Colet*; where he spent his time full as usefully as our Author's

1 *Cavendish's* life of *Wolsey*, 8vo. ed. *London*, 1706. p. 145, 146. *Stowe*, 548, 549.

2 *Cavendish*, p. 167. *Stowe*, p. 555. *Rapin*, v. 1. p. 789. *Carte*, v. 3, p. 100.

Hero could do. Here, we are told, he got his first turn to religion; and *every afternoon* he would sit in contemplation with some of the most ancient fathers of the monastery, who converted him to despise the vanities of this world, and there they gave unto him shirts of hair to wear next his body, which he wore divers times after. He was in this time of his disgrace, an object of great compassion. His old master, the King, had cast him off; the Pope did not care for him; *Catherine* and *Anne Bolen* both detested him; and all his friends, save *Cromwell* and *Gardiner*, had forsaken him. Whatsoever failings he had, they were the failings of a great soul, for he was liberal and munificent to excess, and above the mean arts of rapacious ministers: he employed his immense income, in works of grandeur and hospitality, and in such actions as reflected honour and credit to his station. *Mr. Phillips's Friend*, the church historian, has spoke more favourably and more fairly of the cardinal's character: and with him we will hope, that the errors of his life were all attoned for, by a timely and hearty repentance.¹

The death of this great cardinal, could *Pole* have conformed himself to the prevailing measures of the court, would have

¹ Church history, v. i. p. 155.

opened the way to his advancement to the best preferments which the King's love and power could have heaped upon him. A tender of the arch-bishoprick of *York* was made him, on condition that he would not oppose the divorce. But he rejected a dignity, which he could not accept of, but on terms which he deemed ingominious. This circumstance would doubtless have reflected much honour on his character, had not he himself unfortunately told us in his epistle to King *Edward*, (sect. 34) that he took a month to debate the matter with himself; during which time he confessed (sect. 36) he found out a method to reconcile his honour and his interest; that he went full-fraught with it to the King, when preparing to utter his salvo, his conscience took the alarm, first stopped his mouth, and then extorted from him language the very reverse of that which he came prepared to deliver. It is not to be wondered, that *Burnet* treats this conference of *Pole* with the King, as fabulous: he had never seen either *Beccatelli*, or *Dudithius's* life¹ of

1 The bishop in his reflections on the 3d and 4th tomes of *Varillas's* history of heresies, says that Mr. *Varillas* mentions no author with regard to *English* affairs, but the Arch-bp of *Ragusa*, who, as he says, writ the life of cardinal *Pole*: he adds, I do not pretend to deny, that there is any such author, only I very much doubt of it, for I never heard of it in *England*,
. . . and

him; and neither *Pole's* letter to the parliament, or to *Edward* the 6th, was in his time published. He was therefore surely no way to be blamed, for not crediting an account, which had then no other foundation than *Sanders's* assertion, an authority less than nothing. But the circumstance of *Henry's putting his hand to his dagger, . . . and* P. 67. *being hindered by nothing, but the modest intrepidity of the speaker, from imbruing it in his blood,* being omitted by *Pole* in his address, both to the parliament and *Edward* the 6th, and being only mentioned by the writers of his life; it may well be questioned, whether *Henry's* passion, at his kinsman's remonstrance, proceeded to such extremities, as to threaten his life.

The clergy being unfortunately included in a *Præmunire*, in the same manner as *Wolsey*, were glad to gratify the King, both in the supremacy, and a good round sum by way of gift, to prevent the severities of the law. And the parliament limiting their power in some ecclesiastical cases, the zeal of the bishop of *Rocheſter* was excited; and he made some reflections upon these proceedings, as coming *from the want of faith*. Upon which, complaint being made, he

. . . and I took all the pains I could to be well informed of all that had writ of him.

Amsterdam edit. 1685. 12°. p. 10.

was

- P. 70. was far from shewing the *intrepidity*, here so greatly commended, when he condescended to make this paltry excuse for himself, by saying he meant it only of the people of *Bohemia*. And though he had spoken it of them, the thing was false in fact: for the troubles in *Bohemia* were entirely owing to the Emperor *Sigismund's* forfeiting his honour and safe conduct, given to *John Huss* at the council of *Constance*, through the suggestion of the Pope and his sycophants; who persuaded him, that no faith was to be kept with hereticks. However the bishop's excuse was accepted, and the complaint was dropt. But *Le-Grand*, from whom all this smart passage about the bishop is translated, ¹ does not upon this occasion report that *blasphemy* of *Cromwell*, which this pious man *dares not repeat*, but, as himself knows very well, was spoken (and is even applied by himself elsewhere) upon another occasion, upon *Arch-bp Warham's* communication with the Nun of *Kent*; when we own that *Cromwell* did make use of an indecent and profane, though not a blasphemous, expression. ² But right or wrong,
- P. 70. P. 293.

¹ *Le-Grand*, hist. du divorce, v. I. p. 165.

² *Le Meme*, v. I. p. 243. *Cromwell* is reported to have threatened the Arch-bishop's life, and some partisans of *Rome* telling him there must be a good deal of formality in the process against this Bishop --- *à cause disent-ils, qu'il est l'oint du Seigneur, & que Dieu a défendu*

properly or improperly, Mr. *Phillips's* resentment must fall upon those he dislikes.

As *Pole* was in *England*, whilst that convocation sat, wherein the clergy's composition was offered to escape the penalties of a *præmunire*, and when they acknowledged the King's supremacy, *Burnet* had said, that it is very *probable* that *Pole*, who was dean of *Exeter*, was one of the number who agreed to it: this gave occasion to *Quirini*,¹ and his servile copier and translator, to censure the bishop in a very unfair manner. In the first place, the bishop does not say *he makes no doubt*, but only it is *very probable*: and the reasons he gives, are these; that *Pole* was then in *England*, and present when the King refused the composition, unless the supremacy was agreed to; and that it is not likely the King would have continued his pensions and preferments, if he had refused to sign the petition and submission.² So that the bishop

P. 71.
Note.

fendu de toucher à ses oins, mais, ajoutoit Cromwel, si le Roy m'en veut croire, il le fera attacher en Croix comme son Christ; & parce qu'il est Archevêque on luy donnera une Potence plus haute, qu'aux autres. Quoted from a MS. history of the divorce.

¹ The whole note at the bottom of page 71, 72. is translated from *Quirini*, v. 1. the first part of it occurs, p. 243, 244, and the latter, reflecting upon the copiers of this supposed *slander*, and the other writers, *wh* *se* *notice it escaped*, p. 249 of the same vol.

² *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 112, 113.

did

P. 72.
Note.

did not go upon positive, but only presumptive grounds. Neither does he *a few lines lower* destroy his own weak argument, as *Quirini*, and his constant follower, calls it; but several *pages after*¹ he owns, that he could not discover of what persons the two houses of convocation were made up in times of popery; and that his conjecture was, that deans sat in the upper house. But this was only his private opinion: and upon better information he retracted and corrected this mistake.² A candid adversary would not have continued this slander upon the bishop's memory: and tho' *Quirini* might not have seen the 3d vol. of bishop *Burnet's* history of the reformation, Mr. *Phillips* has, and is therefore inexcusable.

P. 73.

It is very likely, that before matters were come to a crisis, *Henry* had many anxious fears and inward apprehensions: however he kept them to himself; they did not transpire; for the dispatches he sent abroad speak the usual spirit of vigour and resolution. But *a ray of light*, we are told, *at length pierced the chaos of passion, which had long overspread his mind*. This may be pretty language, but not the truer for all that. If the ray of light appeared, it was soon

¹ Ibid. p. 129, 130.

² *Burnet*, v. 2. p. 413. Appendix; and more fully, v. 3. p. 81.

lost in a cloud ; and *Henry* recovered his courage. He found the Pope's threats to be a meer *brutum fulmen*. He found the learned, throughout *Europe*, strenuously to defend his cause. He found his subjects, for the most part, heartily to concur with him, in abolishing the bishop of *Rome's* absurd and usurped claim. And of late years he had very strong precedents to justify his proceedings. So lately as in 1520, the famous Monfr. *Lautrech*, governour of *Milan*, deprived the Pope of all his jurisdiction in in that dukedom ; disposed of ecclesiastical benefices : and the church, says *Thuanus*, was governed by the bishop of *Bigorre* in *France*, without the intervention of the pope.¹ From the same authority too, we learn, that in 1524, the Emperor himself, to revenge the injury done him by pope *Clement*, had abrogated his authority throughout *Spain*.² These were good examples for an high spirited prince to follow, who, as he was a reader of books, could not be ignorant of *Gerson's* famous treatise *de auferibilitate papæ* ; and well knew how to avail himself of the arguments there urged.

This supposed fluctuation in the King's breast, gives our biographer an opportunity of returning to his subject, and introducing

¹ *Thuanus*, lib. 1. A. D. 1520.

² *Ibid.* lib. 1. A. D. 1524.

From
p. 73. ^{to}
p. 80.

Pref.
p. XII.

his hero again upon the stage. *Quirini*¹ had referred his readers to *Pole's* apology to the Emperor, for that long detail of what follows in Mr. *Phillips* about *Machiavel* and *Cromwell*; which *Pole* himself had mostly from a hearsay relation, and in which perhaps he might be imposed upon: hence that torrent of declamation inserted for several pages together, partly from *Quirini*, partly from *Pole* himself. Mr. *Phillips*, speaking of *Pole's* writings, pronounces them *the faithful messengers of his heart*, and the surest way of *knowing him from himself*. Very likely so! but not the freer, for that respect, from prejudice or malevolence. We shall find his writings, for the most part, dictated with this sole view, of blazing out the splendour of his own actions; and aggravating the defects, and depreciating the merits, of those he looked upon as his enemies.

We must not therefore admit his evidence *in his own cause*, absolutely, and without exception: let him tell his tale; and then, *valeat quantum valere potest*. It is hard indeed, if a violent partial man cannot make a plausible apology for his own actions, and relate his story in an insinuating manner. *Pole*, in the place referred

¹ *Quirini*, v. I. p. 263 ---- 267 -- which Mr. *Phillips* translated and inserted, p. 73 ---- 79.

to, by Mr. *Phillips* and his master, has dressed up a figure of *Straw*; and, disliking the man, miscalled the phantom *Cromwell*. But notwithstanding all this vehemence of *Pole*, their Holinesses of *Rome*, for several successions, thought differently of the evil tendency of *Machiavel's* prince, (as is owned P. 79. both by *Quirini* and *Phillips*) for from *Leo X*, to whose nephew, *Laurence de Medicis*, it was dedicated, besides the two popes here mentioned, all his successors to *Clement 8th* permitted the sale of it throughout *Italy*, whereof there were frequent editions and translations; till at last the jesuit *Possevin*, who had never read it, bawled out heresy, and the inquisition took it to task; which prevailed more to silence the bad effects of this writer, than all *Pole's* empty and florid harangues.

Considering *Pole's* bigotted attachment to the Pope's authority, we cannot help expressing our admiration, that he of all men should venture to differ in opinion from any of their Infallibilities; for *Leo* the 10th, and *Clement* the 7th, both of them protected and promoted *Machiavel*: and one of his resigned obedience and absolute submission to their almighty will, must allow this as an uncontroverted maxim, *Quod summus pontifex, cum totam ecclesiam docet,*

1 Bayle dict. article *Machiavel*.

in his quæ ad fidem pertinent, nullo casu errare potest. And then, either he or they must bear the blame. — But after all, this whole discourse about *Machiavel*, might have been better applied by *Pole* to his brother cardinal *Wolfey*, who, for the most part acted more consistently with these maxims, and put some of them in practice, than to *Cromwell*, who contented himself with only commending them, and perhaps did it but to amuse or laugh at the grave dean of *Exeter*; for he was not so adventurous a statesman as the other; neither had he ever that full power over his master *Henry*, which *Wolfey*, for many years together, enjoyed.

† *Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. 4. c. 3. Controv. v. 1. p. 962.*

ANIMADVERSIONS

O N

SECTION THE SECOND.

IT is very fortunate for the pretenders to literary merit, when they can skilfully apply, to their own advantage, the labours of others who have employed their time and abilities in pursuit of the same plan of studies. I cannot therefore but congratulate the ingenious and diligent Mr. *Phillips*, for the admirable use he has made of such friendly assistances. The foreign writers of the life of *Pole*, had only their own materials to work up, and have given us little more than a bare narration of facts: but happily! the *English* compiler, of *the history of his life*, found every thing ready to his hands. He must have taken it for granted, his authorities had not been heard of, or could not be met with, or would not be enquired after. He might therefore safely venture to flourish away upon his borrowed, or rather stolen, stock of knowledge;

ledge; and arrogate to himself the reputation of an able, and original writer.

We have already detected him, in many instances, of gross and impudent plagiarism: we now repeat the charge; and afresh accuse him of the same illiberal and disingenuous behaviour, in not acknowledging the source of all his materials.

P. 81.

1 How free and lax a translator Mr. *Phillips* is, the reader may judge by comparing the references he has vouchsafed to give in his notes, with the passages in the text. The very first reference is a glaring instance of the liberty he too often takes. He tells us, that *on Pole's arrival at Avignon, the sepulchre of Laura, . . . was discovered. The inhabitants congratulated themselves on this incident, no less than the Sicilians had done on the discovery of Archimedes's tomb, the memory of which they had lost; and paid the person, who discovered it almost the same honours the latter had conferred on Cicero, for the like benefit.* Referring, at the note, to *Bembi. Ep. L. 6, &c.* *Quirini* informs us of two of *Bembo's* letters to *Castellanus*, in one of which that learned man speaks very handsomely of *Pole*; and then adds, from another, the cited passage translated as above. *Altera autem (Epistola sc. Bembi) Castellano gratulatur conquistum nuper, & repertum Lauræ sepulchrum, a Nicolao Perusino, qui ea in re non minorem consecutus sit laudem, quam olim Cicero apud Siculos ex invento Archimedis tumulto, cujus illi memoriam amiserant: non ita vero gratulatur Versiculos quosdam Vernaculos . . . in eo sepulchro inventos, quos ait non modo longissime abesse a Petrarchæ mirifico, ac prope divino ingenio, sed ne mediocris quidem ullius poetæ aut stylum, aut eruditionem sapere. Quirini, v. 1. p. 274.*

Mr. *Phillips*, p. 82, has rendered *Biturigas, Beziers*: he had before, p. 17, rightly translated it *Bourges*. He also, p. 98, speaks of a letter from *Bunet* to *Selva*: whereas *Quirini* frequently mentions that critick's name, and uniformly calls him *Bunellus*.

Un-

Unluckily for his credit, *Quirini's* edition of *Pole's* letters, contrary to his hopes and expectations, have found their way into *England*; to whose preliminary discourses, had Mr. *Phillips* referred where he ought, how little would be left that could be called his own! Where *Quirini* drops the history, our author is then obliged to beat out elsewhere for matter to enlarge his book, and to associate to himself some other authority. As the cardinal did not pursue the business of *Henry's* divorce, which was again renewed after *Pole* left *England*, our historian has condescended to adopt *Le-Grand's* account of it. By the help of these two supporters, he was enabled to go on briskly: the *first thirty pages* of this section, except a few sentences here and there added, to dodge the scent, and tack his intelligence together, being literally translated from them. An easy and compendious way this of becoming an author! But, to use his own words on another occasion, *he does* Pt. 2d. *them an injury not to acknowledge* what he P. 142. *relates, to be theirs*, whilst he studiously conceals the just property they have, in what is so shamefully pillaged from them.

The former part of this section, as it respects *Pole's* foreign connections, and residence at *Avignon* and *Padua*, may stand uncorrected. We shall make no further observations on it, than only to restore it to its

its own author ; and to refer the reader for the contents of it from page 80 to page 102, to *Quirini's* introduction to the first volume of *Pole's* letters from page 274 to page 300. Mr. *Phillips* does indeed, in the course of these pages, cite some of *Pole's* letters, and a few other authorities, as vouchers of his history : but then they are the very same references, which *Quirini*, in his illustration of the letters, had selected for him ; and which he, to blind his readers, vouchsafeth sometimes to quote.

The illustrious *Sadolet* bearing so considerable a share in the correspondence of *Pole*, we cannot entirely pass him by, without gladly paying that regard to him, which is due to the memory of superiour virtue and ability. *Sadolet*, though secretary to a Pope, was yet remarkable for candour and moderation, and for an affection to learned persons, tho' they were sometimes engaged in defending religious principles different from his own. He had a very high regard for *Sturmius*, *Bucer* and *Melanchton*.¹ *Seckendorf* hath preserved a valuable letter of his addressed to *Melanchton*,

¹ In a letter to *Sturmius*, dated 1539, he thus expresseth himself, *Palam, cum facultas datur, soleo & commemorare & loqui, me tibi & Melanchtoni & Bucero, hominibus doctissimis, plane benevolum & ex animo fautorem esse.*

Cited by *Seckendorf*, hist. Luth. L. i. p. 43.

which

which shews the goodness of his heart, and the sweetness of his temper. It is a letter expressive of the highest esteem of that excellent reformer and his writings: in it he acquaints him with his promotion to the purple, and begs to be admitted into his friendship; telling him, he was not such a bigot, as to hate those who differed from him, but that the esteem he bore to learning and worth was such, that he had already no inconsiderable share of his affection; and hoped, the distance of their abode would not prevent an union of their souls.

I This letter of Sandolet is dated in 1537, and is addressed to Melancthon, *Dilectissimo tanquam fratri: --- accidebat mihi . . . ut aliquid nanciscerer de scriptis tuis, quæ ego & propter excellens ingenium tuum, & propter elegantiam styli & orationis, libentissime legere solebam. Id cum sæpius facerem, magnaue in legendo delectatione adficerer, sensi paulatim mihi incendi animum ad quandam benevolentiam nominis tui, usque eo quidem, ut miro quodam studio tecum ineundæ amicitiae tenerer. Non enim is sum, qui ut quisque opinione a nobis dissentit, statim eum odio habeam. . . . Faveo ingeniis, virtutes hominum colo, studia literarum diligo, in quibus tu, ut doctrinæ & ingenii, sic amoris mei non mediocres partes possides. Nec dubito, quin tu eadem mente & voluntate sis præditus. Isti enim animo, qui tam liberaliter artibus ingenuis expolitus sit, nihil agreste atque asperum, inesse potest, quo etiam maiorem mihi spem virtus tua facit, meas hoc apud te literas ponderis habituras, ut qui locorum spatiis disjuncti sumus, animis tamen & benevolentia jungamur, quod ego maxime aveo atque expeto.*

Seckendorf ibid. see also, B. 3. p. 244: and his christian candour and charity to the *Vaudois* is celebrated by Thuanus, B. 6. A. D. 1550.

G

How

How amiable is such a spirit! how dear must it render him to every lover of learning and candour! Honest and moderate men must admire him, and no adversary could be so ungenerous as to hate, or revile him. Of all the friends of *Pole*, there was none whose acquaintance did him so much honour, as his intimacy with the truly respectable *Sadolet*: and had he but cultivated the same freedom of thinking and writing, his own character might have equalled that of his friend the bishop of *Carpentras*.

P. 102.

After our historian's account of *Pole's* literary engagements abroad, we are called off from attending his hero, to hear his own concluding relation of the affair of the divorce. *Quirini* being silent about this, Mr. *Phillips* was at a loss where to meet with an impartial and fair detail of that business. To search into records, or to give us his own opinion, would be a work of time and pains: he pitched therefore upon that forgotten author *Monfr. Le-Grand*, deeming that a transcript from thence might be made with less hazard of discovery, than from more approved writers. Though our author is as much obliged to *Le-Grand* for the following pages of his history relating to the divorce, as he was to *Quirini* for his former intelligence; yet except a trifling appeal, at his entrance, to an insignificant minute in one of *Cassali's* and *Rance's* letters,

From
102 —
111.

ters, in the 3d volume of *Le-Grand's* history, no notice at all is taken of his guide and director. The first vol. of *Le-Grand* contains the history or narration of the divorce: in the 3d volume are inserted the proofs, amongst which there are several very valuable records, which bishop *Burnet* hath made good use of in his 3d volume of the history of the reformation; and hath honestly referred his readers to *Le-Grand* upon every occasion, by a particular acknowledgment of those materials he selected from thence to illustrate his history. As a relator of facts, it would have done Mr. *Phillips* no harm, to have considered these records of the last volume, rather than to have curtailed his partial narration in the first. But however, even by this account, we learn, that the Pope still acted in his former shuffling, prevaricating manner: and the several dispatches referred to by his author, are ample testimonies of his Holiness's distressful state; who was urged, on the one hand, by the Emperor and the cardinals of his faction to declare against *Henry*; and, on the other, was moved by the representation of the King of *France* and his agents, of the danger of an hasty determination of *Henry's* cause. Neither was the King of *England* wanting in his own behalf. He wrote to the Pope, and insisted

G 2

upon

P. 102. upon its being determined in *England*; ¹ and, as Mr. *Phillips*, or rather *Le-Grand*, ² says, tried to prevail on the queen to desist from her appeal to *Rome*. But she was resolutely bent to have his Holiness's decision; and, as if she was determined to exasperate her husband to the uttermost, she applied in most pressing terms to the Pope; and procured a *Breve* from him to prohibit the King's marrying another wife, and to charge him to live with the queen as formerly; and in case he refused, the whole kingdom was threatened with an interdict. ³

Upon this, the King was cited to *Rome*: but by his ambassador and excusator *Carne* he protested against this step, because the Emperor's power was so great at *Rome*, and he himself was a sovereign Prince, and the church of *England* a free church over which the Pope had no just authority. ⁴ He had some time before issued out a proclamation, forbidding the receiving or publishing any bulls from *Rome* prejudicial to his royal prerogative; and his parliament had con-

¹ *Burnet*, 3 v. Ref. p. 67. *Records*, p. 372.

² *Le-Grand* hist. du divorce, v. 1. p. 218.

³ *Burnet*, 3 v. Ref. p. 57. *Le-Grand*, v. 3. p. 446. There was afterwards another to the same purpose. *Burnet*, v. 3. Ref. p. 68. *Le-Grand*, v. 3. p. 531.

⁴ *Burnet*, 1 v. Ref. p. 126. *ibid.* 3d v. Ref. p. 68. *Herbert*, p. 364.

curred with him, in applying to the Pope for a speedy determination of this great matter. And the members of both houses shewed themselves very forward in restraining the papal authority, and supporting their sovereign with great spirit and unanimity in the measures he took entirely to annul it. The convocation had acknowledged him supreme head of the church of *England*. The decisions of the universities were laid before the parliament, which excited their resentment against the Pope, and their detestation of the King's marriage. *One of* P. 104. *the members* did indeed speak against the divorce, in the house of commons, and moved that the King might be entreated to cohabit with the queen. But whilst Mr. Phillips was mentioning this, and the notice the King himself took of Mr. Teemse's speech, he should not have suppressed the most material part of his Majesty's discourse with the speaker; in which, besides what our author hath thought proper to give us, he told him "that the house might better understand
 "his true reasons, he had informed him-
 "self in all parts of christendom, concern-
 "ing strange marriages; and that saving in
 "Spain and Portugal, he could never find
 "that any man had so much as married

1 Herbert, p. 330, 331. Carte, v. 3. p. 101. and 107.

“two sisters, if the first were carnally known.
 “But for the brother to marry the bro-
 “ther’s wife was so abhorred amongst all
 “nations, that he never heard any christian
 “so did, but himself, and therefore wished
 “them to believe that his conscience was
 “troubled.”

But why was this omitted? certainly for this reason, lest it might leave an impression in *Henry’s* favour. *Le Grand* who had as little good will for the King, as Mr. *Phillips* can possibly have; yet acted more fairly, and has honestly related the whole speech.² After this, there was the utmost harmony between the King and his parliament: and the house, at his request, undertook to consider how far the oath, which the clergy made to the Pope, was derogatory to that of their fidelity to him. This occasioned the final renouncing of the Pope’s authority, not long after.³

P. 104. During the recess of this parliament, we are told by *Le-Grand*⁴ and his translator, that *the King now caused a strict inquiry to be made into Heresy, in which the bishops seconded his capricious and sanguinary inclinations, with all the rigour of a Spanish inquisition.* The conclusion of the parliament,

¹ *Herbert*, p. 363. *Burnet*, 1 v. Ref. p. 122.

² *Le-Grand*, 1 v. p. 223.

³ *Herbert*, p. 363. *Burnet*, 1 vol. Ref. p. 123.

⁴ *Le-Grand*, 1 v. p. 224.

and

and the resignation of the Great Seal by Sir Thomas More, being mentioned by them both at the end of their last paragraph, might induce the reader to think, that this inquiry into heresy, was posterior to these two events: whereas the contrary is the truth; and neither of these writers have strictly attended to the order of time, in their account of many of the transactions which they relate. This inquiry, here hinted at, was made long before the end of that Session, or Sir Thomas's giving up the seals. And the particular instances of this ecclesiastical severity, tho' specified by *Le-Grand*,¹ are yet taken no notice of by Mr. *Phillips*. I presume, he was conscious, the dwelling upon them would tend to the dishonour of some of the greatest men of his own communion.

The sufferers named by *Le-Grand* are *Bilney*, *Bisfield*, *Tewksbury*, and *Bainham*: and the proceedings, carried on against them, were exercised, we freely grant, with all the rigour of a Spanish inquisition. But who were these sanguinary inquisitors? Bishop *Stokesley* of London,² and Sir Thomas

¹ *Le Meme*, p. 225.

² The same person whom Mr. *Phillips*, (following *Quirini's* or his printer's blunder,) in the note of p. 32, called *John Stockter*; who is mentioned by *Erasmus*, (from one of whose epistles the note is quoted) as one of the illustrious ornaments of *Henry's* court; and who, he says,

More the chancellor himself; the latter of whom, as appears by the inscription which he composed in the height of his prosperity, and ordered to be placed on his monument, gloried in nothing so much as his hatred to all those, whom he was pleased to brand with the appellation of hereticks.

P. 115.

We are told, indeed, that *his prudence, understanding, and temper, seemed to vie with each other, and could be surpassed by nothing but a disinterestedness, probity, and sense of religion, which rendered the man, the magistrate, and the christian compleat.* But surely he did not exemplify any part of this amiable character, when he condescended to turn inquisitor and persecutor; when he so far forgot the regard he owed to truth and his own honour, that not content with sending out a writ for the burning of *Bilney*, he could publickly declare to the world, ' that he had abjured his tenets before his execution. A calumny this, which was so far from having any evidence in its support, that the absolute falshood of it was testified by many witnesses, ' whose vera-

P. 32.

says, was one of his chaplains, *a sacris*, which Mr. *Phillips*, by a bold periphrasis, rendereth, *is clerk of the closet.*

1 In the preface to one of his books against *Tindal*.
Fox, 2 v. p. 272.

2 *Fox*, v. 2. p. 275. & seq. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 163.
Strype, Mem. 1 v. p. 201.

city

city is unquestionable. He asserted the like of *Bisfield* also, with as much malevolence, and as little truth. ¹

Tewksbury, the 3d person mentioned by *Le-Grand*, was tried and condemned by bishop *Stokesley*, and by Sir *Thomas More*, at his house at *Chelsea*; and carried directly from thence to the stake. But in his treatment of *Bainham*, the chancellor exercised his cruelty to an horrid excess. He imprisoned him in his own house; and to make him discover and inform against his heretical acquaintance, he ordered him to be whipped at a tree in his garden; and then sent him to the tower, where he stood by, and saw him put to the rack. ² The bishop and the chancellor, we suppose, considered heresy not only as a grievous sin against almighty God, but as a heinous crime against the state. This made them so zealous to extirpate such dangerous opinions. Pt. 2d. p. 166.

As the divorce was still depending at the court of *Rome*, the chancellor suggested to the King, that the Pope would be more wrought upon by his supporting the church, and defending the faith, than by threatenings. ³ The persecution therefore that was carried on, was owing entirely to *More's*

¹ *Fox*, v. 2. p. 294.

² *Fox*, 2 v. p. 297.

³ *Burnet*, hist. Ref. 1 vol. p. 159.

instigation. It was begun in 1531, when he was in the height of his power: and the above mentioned sufferers were executed that year. Some few processes indeed we meet with both before and after this time; but the violence of the storm was felt most severely then, but not every where alike. The rigour of it was confined almost wholly to the diocese of *London*; where the bishop, who had much more learning than humanity, was remarkably active in displaying his religious fury: in which he was, no doubt, greatly encouraged and supported, by the countenance of *Sir Thomas More's* authority; who frequently was present at the bishop's examination of heretics, and assisted him in that godly work. And how much his influence contributed to these prosecutions is evident from hence, that with the decline of his power, the *strict inquiry into heresy* subsided too: and we hear of but few condemnations for some time, after *More* himself had felt the bitter severity of the law. As he had so great an hand in this inquisitorial inquiry, we are not surpris'd, that *Mr. Phillips* should so lightly skip over these rigorous proceedings. He hath expressed himself in so guarded a manner, that it is hard to judge from his narration, whether the persecution was levelled against the promoters of the new, or the defenders of the old tenets.

tenets. He has given us, because *Le-Grand* P. 104. did, ' a trifling instance of trouble upon each account; wherein the King's supremacy only was concerned, which being just declared and recognised by the parliament, the priest, who maintained the Pope's title to it, might reasonably expect to be imprisoned for opposing the laws of the land: and the heretic, who appealed to the King, was well advised to claim the benefit of this act, to give his sovereign an opportunity of exercising his new acknowledged jurisdiction.

Whilst *Stokesley* and *More* were thus busily employed in defending the doctrine of the church, the business of the divorce was managed at *Rome* with all the accustomed delays of the timid pontiff; till *Henry*, satisfied in his own mind of the unlawfulness of his marriage, offended at the indignity offered to his person in being cited to *Rome*, wearied with this impolitic treatment, and finding the generality of his subjects had adopted his sentiments, cut, at P. 107. once, the knot, as Mr. *Phillips* says, which he had so long, in vain, endeavoured to untie, and married Mrs *Anne Bullen* as soon as he returned from *France*. *John Stowe* tells us, "the King returning to *England*, landed at "Dover the 14th of November 1532."²

¹ *Le-Grand*, I v. p. 225.

² *Stowe's annals*, p. 562.

But

But as the marriage was not publickly declared till the *April* following, it is impossible to fix the determinate day. *Sanders*¹ and *Campion*,² whose authority must be of great weight with Mr. *Phillips*, have with many other historians fixed the day of this marriage upon the 14 of *November*. *John Stowe* and some others tell us, it was deferred to the *January* following.³ As the divorce was undecided, there is great probability in that conjecture of bishop *Burnet*, “that the day of marriage was given out
“wrong on design. And in a matter that
“was so secretly managed, it was no hard
“thing, to oblige those who were in the
“secret to silence.”⁴

P. 107.

The pleasant tale Mr. *Phillips* has amused us with, concerning the scruples of Dr. *Lee* who performed the ceremony, though here translated from *Le-Grand*,⁵ is originally derived from no other authority than the fiction

1 *Ad decimum vero & octavum calendas Decembris, . . . Rex longioris moræ impatiens, . . . omnino constituit cum Anna Bolena, nuptias contrahere.*

Sanders de schism. Ang. L. 1. p. 83.

2 *Rex Annam Boleniam ducit clanculum mense Novembri, ita ut nemo fere persentisceret, priusquam ad Aprilem proximum gravida notaretur.*

Edm. Campian. de divortio Hen. 8. p. 178. Inter opuscula.

3 *Annals, p. 562.*

4 *Burnet, v. 3. Ref. p. 70, 71.*

5 *Le-Grand, v. 1. p. 237, 238.*

of lying *Sanders*.¹ It is scarce probable that *Pole*, who collected every thing that could defame the King and his new queen, would have omitted it in his scurrilous invectives against them, had there been the least foundation for such a report. *Le-Grand* indeed, in another place, endeavours to support it, by the convincing authority of a nameless MS;² the writer of which might perhaps owe all his knowledge either to *Sanders*, or to an authority of no better credit. But the story lying in Mr. *Phillips's* way, he thought it told well, and did not care to drop it.

Henry having taken this step, which was intended as a publick defiance of the pope, and an insult upon *that tribunal* which P. 59. had arbitrarily arrogated to itself *the decision of causes of such importance*, did not stop here. Perceiving the good disposition of his subjects, he proceeded to ease them of the many exorbitant encroachments of papal power, upon their Liberties, as well as his own prerogative. At the next meeting of the P. 107. parliament, a law passed, by which all appeals to the See of Rome were prohibited. And high time it was, that such a law as this should be enacted; for the grievances, which it was calculated to redress, had been

¹ *Sanders de Schismate, &c.* L. 1. p. 83.

² *Le-Grand, v. 2. Defense de Sanderus, p. 109.*

long and loudly complained of: for these appeals to the Pope were neither more nor less, than the effect of a mere usurpation on his part, and of illegal acts in the subjects. And the order of the process settled by this bill was agreeable to the ancient constitution of the kingdom. They owed their rise to that separation, which *William* the conqueror made between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Before that time, the Pope was not considered at all in *England*; and all ecclesiastical cases were determined at home, without his interposition. But by this separation, the Pope, who before was subject to the canons of the church, began to be above them. Hence was laid the foundation of those appeals, which were never allowed, without much struggling and reluctance, by the civil power; and which, by the continual contests they occasioned, proved very detrimental to the kingdom.

The first who judicially, and under the form of authority, introduced them in *England* (tho' there had been a prior attempt or two before) was that turbulent and haughty prelate *Henry de Blois* bishop of *Winchester*, and the Pope's legate, in the unsettled reign of King *Stephen*; ¹ who being, as legate,

¹ *In Anglia appellationes in usu non erant, donec eas Henricus Wintoniensis, dum legatus esset, malo suo crudeliter intrusit.*

Hen. Huntingdon, A°. 16. Steph. L. 8. p. 226. ed. Savil.

superior to his metropolitan, took this step, to lessen the jurisdiction of the See of *Canterbury*; and first taking cognizance of these appeals himself, they naturally and of course came to be determined in the *Roman* consistory: whereas before they were usually made to the primate, and determined by a council called by him. — But they were not long tamely permitted: and upon *Henry* the second's putting a stop to them by the 8th constitution of the council of *Clarendon*, they remained ever after prohibited by law; and subsisted only by the connivance of the crown, though complained of from time to time by the commons in parliament.

This statute therefore providing against them by severe penalties, was only an affirmation of the common law; though necessary in equity, to give notice to all persons, that the breach thereof would not be connived at for the future. This occasioned *Henry* and his Holiness to fulminate against each other. But the *Vatican* thunder now rolled in vain: it made no impression on *Henry*, and was set at nought by his subjects. The bishop of *Rome's* authority was absolutely disclaimed. His decree

P. 109.

1 See *Carte*, v. 1. p. 442, 443, and 551. and v. 3. p. 118, from whence this account of these appeals is taken.

against

against the divorce, and in confirmation of the validity of *Catherine's* marriage, was despised and trampled under foot. The King persisted to cohabit with his new wife; and the nation acknowledged her for their queen. The jurisdiction and decrees of the Pope were renounced; the King declared the supreme head of the church: and the people readily professed obedience to all the laws for extinguishing the papal power.

- P. 111. *In this manner, says our author, the spiritual supremacy was conferred on the King and his successors. He had before told us,*
- P. 70. *of the novelty of the claim, and its repugnance to the sense of all antiquity; and peremptorily asserted, that Henry, by this usurped a power of laying waste that fair edifice, the Pope's supremacy, which, like all others throughout the Christian world, had*
- P. 71. *been founded by the divine lawgiver, on the pre-eminence of that See, and had rested on it, in this kingdom, since its first establishment, during 900 years. A small knowledge in the English history would have made Mr. Phillips less positive in his assertions. The renouncing the Pope's supremacy, he re-*
- St. Mat. cb. 16. *presents, as separating from the catholic church. But what if this papal supremacy was never legally allowed? what if its pretensions, in whole or in part, were ever resisted? Did any of the Saxon Kings, tho'*
- P. 112. *in-*

indebted to a missionary from the Pope, for their conversion to christianity, make any solemn or formal acknowledgment of their submission to the bishop of *Rome*? Where was hid this authority, when *Dionoth*, the abbot of *Bangor*, told *Augustine* the monk (whose errand was as much to make converts to the church of *Rome*, as the church of Christ) that he knew no obedience due to him, whom they called the Pope, but the obedience of love; and, that under God they were to be governed by the bishop of *Caerleon*? What then did *Henry* do more, than what most of his predecessors had done before him?

The first appeal upon record to the Pope, before the conquest, was made by *Wilfrid* Arch-Bp of *York*, whose remonstrances, against some regulations made both by civil and ecclesiastical authority, not being attended to; he denounced publickly, that he appealed for redress, to the See of *Rome*. " This," says *Carte*, " appeared so new and singular to the audience, that it occasion-

1 *Spelman*. conc. A. D. 601. cited by Arch-bishop *Bramhall*; who adds, that as this conference, between *Dionoth* and *Augustine*, was held in the very beginning of the 7th century, it is a demonstrative convincing proof that no such claim had been heard of, or acknowledged, at that time.

Bramhall's vindication of the church of *England*, p. 84. Fol.

“ ed a general laughter, as a thing quite
 “ ridiculous.”¹ And though the Pope de-
 creed in his favour, yet *Alfrid* the King
 would not restore to him his preferments,
 declaring that “ what the Kings his prede-
 “ cessors with their council had determined,
 “ and what had been afterwards adjudged
 “ by the arch-bishop and all the bishops of
 “ *England*, he was resolved not to change,
 “ for any papal letter or rescript what-
 “ ever.”²

Afterwards, altho' *William* the conqueror,
 at his accession to the crown, paid a little
 court to his Holiness; yet no sooner was
 he firmly seated, than he strenuously as-
 serted the independency of his crown: and
 when the Pope admonished him by his le-
 gate of the homage due to his See, he pe-
 remptorily refused it, saying, *fidelitatem fa-*
cere nolui, nec volo; quia nec ego promisi,
nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fe-
*cisse comperio.*³ So little regard did he pay
 to the Pope's authority, that he would not
 even suffer his subjects to acknowledge any
 one for Pope, without his orders;⁴ or per-
 mit his primate to pass any synodical ca-
 nons, but what were agreeable to his will,

¹ *Carte*, I v. p. 250.

² *Ibid.* I v. p. 257.

³ See his epistle to the Pope in *Selden's* Notes to
Eadmerus, p. 164.

⁴ *Eadmerus*, p. 6. not. p. 163.

and

and first approved, or ordered by himself.¹ Neither would he suffer the bishops to excommunicate any of his barons or officers.²

His son *William Rufus* exerted the same spirit: and when arch-bishop *Anselm* asked leave of him to go to *Rome* for his pall, he refused his request, as being “contrary to his own prerogative, to the laws of the land, and to the rights of the church of *England* ;” alleging “that it had not been the custom either in his father’s time or his own, for any body in *England* to acknowledge a Pope without the King’s license or approbation.”³ When *Hilary* bishop of *Chichester*, in *Henry* the second’s time, “was exalting the papal authority, and affirmed that no layman, not even the King himself, could give any ecclesiastical dignities or privileges to a church, without the Pope’s allowance and confirmation ;” the King in great wrath interrupted him, and told him “the Pope owed his power to the grant of men, but the royal authority was derived from God ; — that he should apply to the great council there assembled for doing him justice on a man, who had thus attacked the ancient liberties of the crown, &c. The whole audience assented to what the King said, and was moved

¹ Ibid. not. p. 165.

² Ibid. not. p. 168.

³ *Carte*, 1 v. p. 472.

“ with indignation against the bishop ; and
 “ chancellor *Becket* reprov'd him for his
 “ presumption.”¹

In a parliament held at *Carlisle* under *Edward* the first, in 1307, such a law was passed, which, if well executed, would have put an end to all the extorted jurisdiction of the court of *Rome*: for it was expressly declared, “ that the church of *England* “ was founded in the estate of prelacy, by “ the King and peers thereof, and that the “ several incroachments of the bishop of “ *Rome*, did tend to the annihilation of the “ state of the church, the desheriting of “ the King and the peers, and the destruc- “ tion of the laws and rights of the realm, “ contrary to the disposition and will of the “ first founders.”² In the reign of *Edward* the 3d, and *Henry* the 4th, the judges declared the Pope's excommunication contrary to law.³ *Edward* the 3d revived the statutes of *præmunire*, and of provisors, to prevent the Pope's intermeddling, either in the disposal of benefices, or the hearing of ecclesiastical causes.⁴ Under *Richard* the 2d, the parliament made still stronger efforts, to curb this foreign encroaching ju-

¹ *Carte*, I v. p. 584.

² 35 E. 1. Statute of *Carlisle*.

³ *Fidelis Servi, subdito infideli responsio*, by Dr. Clerk, p. 51.

⁴ *Rapin*, I v. p. 478. 27 E. 3. c. 1.

jurisdiction. " They made it death for any
 " man to bring or send any bull or process
 " from *Rome*; and that whoever procured
 " or executed any sentence from *Rome* should
 " lose all that he had, and be imprisoned
 " for life. And they also offered to de-
 " fend the King against the Pope; declar-
 " ing the crown of *England* was not sub-
 " ject to him, but to God only; adding,
 " that it had been so free at all times, that
 " it hath been in no earthly subjection."

These are instances, sufficient enough to
 prove, how much the nation was ever upon
 its guard to check the growth of the papal
 supremacy, and to prevent its taking such
 root as thoroughly to be established: tho'
 under weak, or very ambitious princes, or
 when civil commotions ran high, the en-
 croachments of the papacy were connived
 at, and sometimes appealed to, by those
 who either feared a rupture with that for-
 midable power, or found it necessary to
 strengthen their interest by its friendship
 and support. *Henry* therefore, when he ut-
 terly abolished this assumed supremacy, was
 so far from being guilty of what Mr. *Phil-* P. 111.
lips arrogantly termeth an *amazing innova-*
tion, that he really did no more, than add
 life and spirit to those laws, which the
 wisdom of his ancestors had indeed enact-

ed; but which, though they generally lay dormant, when the royal prerogative was not exerted: yet were they still known to be in full force, and, being exercised from time to time, in certain instances; the nation, groaning under the insupportable burthen of an infinity of papal exactions, and, in a manner, impoverished by them, was well enough prepared to receive the revival of the regal supremacy.

P. 111. Mr. *Phillips*, by the help of a citation from *Henry's* book against *Luther*, (which he found in a note in the church historian of his own communion, and hath put into modern language) hath, with Mr. *Dod*,² represented the clergy of those times, as charging the King with *inconsistency*, and acting contrary to his *solemn declarations* in that book. *Henry's* opinion, in this point, was certainly altered: but he had, since that time, got better knowledge of the Popes themselves. They had amused and deceived him so much, that his good opinion of them and their courts was greatly abated. He might reasonably conjecture, power, thus abused, could not be of divine right; and that the Popes, in the exercise of it, did frequently determine not according to con-

¹ *Carte*, 3 v. p. 129.

² *Dod's church history*, I v. p. 99.

science,

science, but the dictates of a prevailing Party. It was this gross behaviour of the Pope, which occasioned the inquiry into the rise of his power, and how far he could dispense with the laws of God. The spirit of the reformers had already taught men to despise his menaces: and when they began in earnest to examine the foundation of such high pretensions, they soon found them to be against the word of God, and the consent of earliest antiquity: that they were only the acts of usurpation and sufferance; for that every prince in his own dominions was sovereign and supreme head of all his subjects, without distinction or exception. When therefore the breach was made between *Henry* and the Pope, his interest and his people's being the same, the King no longer delayed to free himself, and them, from the burthen of that yoke, which they, as well as their fore-fathers, found too heavy for them; and thereby providentially became an instrument of promoting the reformation, without intending it.

The *Gallican* church had always preserved its liberties, exempt from the encroachments of any foreign intruder. But with regard to *England*, we have it hinted, “that it might perhaps be looked upon as
“a feodatory kingdom to *Rome*, as it once
“ was

“ was in the reign of King *John*, and part
 “ of *Henry* the 3d's reign, and that the Pe-
 “ ter-pence was still a kind of acknow-
 “ ledgment of that subjection. Now where
 “ such a subjection is really due, a feoda-
 “ tary prince,” saith Mr. *Dod*, “ that re-
 “ fuseth to pay homage according to ar-
 “ ticles, may as well by the customs and
 “ laws of nations be deprived of his domi-
 “ nions.”¹ The advocates of the See of
Rome must be at a miserable loss truly, to
 lay any stress upon such weak suppositions.
 Peter-pence was originally nothing more
 than a voluntary tax, appropriated entirely
 to the support of an *English* church and
 school at *Rome*, and for the benefit of that
 nation residing there:² and we have here
 a flagrant instance of the presumption and
 vanity of the court of *Rome*, in claiming
 that afterwards, as an acknowledgment or
 quit-rent, which was only at first collected
 as a fund for the maintenance of the *English*
 youth and pilgrims at *Rome*. This money was
 called indeed Peter-pence, not as a supposed
 tributary homage to the pretended successor
 of *St. Peter*, but because it was to be paid up-
 on the first of *August*, which was the festival
 of *St. Peter ad vincula*, in remembrance of

¹ *Dod's church history*, i v. p. 99.

² *Matt. Westmonast.* p. 265. Arch-bishop *Parker's*
 ed. 1578.

the discovery of the relicks of St. *Alban*, supposed to be found upon that holy-day.¹ The Popes themselves, who did not use to be over-modest, were so far from looking upon it as a debt due to them as superior lords of a lay fee, that they called it only *eleemosyna beati Petri*,² alms or bounty money, not a tribute paid by way of homage.

In the distressful condition King *John* was, we need not wonder, if he had very little concern for the dignity of a crown, to which he had no other right, than what usurpation and murder could give him. The Pope had absolved his subjects from their allegiance: to free himself from the difficulties he was involved in, and to prevent a threatened invasion from *France*, he resigned his realms to his Holiness, to hold them for the future, as his feodatary, by homage; and to pay him an annual tribute. *John* vainly thought this step would reduce his enemies to the same distresses he had experienced himself, before he took shelter under that sanctified banner. But the barons were not so soon frightened. As *John* was universally odious, they raised a clamour against him in all places, for submit-

¹ *Collier eccles. hist.* i v. p. 143.

² Pope *Pascal* in a letter to *Hen. I.* *Eadmer*, p. 113.

ting to be an homager to the Pope, and for giving up the independency of the crown. But the officers of the court of *Rome*, who well knew how to fish in troubled waters, made great advantages of the disturbances of his reign, and the weakness of his son's administration; and committed such acts of rapine and extortion, that the wantonness of their tyranny was raised in proportion to the extreme passive behaviour of the supple *English*.

But however in the next reign, *Edward* the 1st put a check to these exorbitances, and restored the ancient power and prerogative to the crown again. And when sometime after, in the reign of *Edward* the 3d, the Pope made a demand of the homage and acknowledgment which *John*, he said, had engaged for himself and his successors; the three estates in parliament, declared this act of *John*'s illegal and not binding, and done in violation of his coronation oath; if therefore the Pope by virtue of this claim should attempt any thing against the King, that then the King and all his subjects should with all their force and power resist and oppose the same. And to shew his contempt of the Pope, the King forbade his alms or Peter-pence to be gathered or paid any more; tho' this, as

Mr. Collier says, ' was only a temporary stoppage. This spirited answer of the King and his parliament prevented the Pope from ever making the like pretensions, or from building any right upon the act of a weak disheartened usurper, never agreed to by the nation, and set aside as null and invalid by an active successor. However, what the Popes themselves at that time dropped, as knowing the illegality and insufficiency of their claim, their absurd adherents in later days have presumed to urge, as solid proof, that the free and imperial crown of *England* was a tributary state to the bishop of *Rome*.

But now things went in the old channel. *Henry*, purposing to be sovereign of his own dominions, set aside this foreign authority, which divided the obedience his subjects owed to him as their natural Prince. In doing this, we maintain, he took upon himself no other spiritual supremacy, than what "the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah* " under the law of *Moses*, the first Christian " Emperors under the gospel oeconomy, and " the *Saxon* Kings in *England* before the " conquest, had constantly exercised." ¹ An authority this, as the acts of parliament style it, over the persons of the spirituality, as well as the temporality of the Realm.

¹ Ibid.

² Carte, 3 v. p. 129.

But

But this conferreth no power to the King, to do acts of a merely spiritual nature. The Clergy do indeed derive the authority of their function, not from the Prince, but from Christ himself: but the Prince giveth them liberty to perform their religious offices in his dominions. Thus Arch-bishop *Laud*, whom no one will suspect of any design of lowering the rights and privileges of the Clergy, publickly declared, “that
 “tho’ our office (i.e. episcopal and clerical) be from God and Christ immediately, yet may we not exercise this power,
 “either of order or jurisdiction, but as God
 “hath appointed us, that is, not in his
 “Majesty’s, or any Christian King’s kingdoms, but by and under the power of the
 “King given us so to do.”¹ This is the nature of that *spiritual supremacy*, which Mr. *Phillips*, seeing or observing no difference between the *Commission* to preach given by Christ, and the *Permission* allowed by the Prince, grossly mistakes; and dreaming of absurdities, where none are, exposeth his ignorance both of history and divinity.²

¹ Arch-bp *Laud*’s speech in the Star-chamber 1637 at the censure of *Bastwick*, *Burton*, and *Pryn*. Remains, 2 v. p. 68.

² See this point well argued in the 2d part of bishop *Bilson*’s true difference between christian subjection, and unchristian rebellion — throughout. Q^{to}. *Oxon*. 1585.

The situation of affairs in England, and P. 112.
the desire *Henry* had to know *his kinsman's*
sentiments of his new claim, gave birth to,
what Mr. *Phillips* calls, *the most celebrated* P. 113.
and important of all Pole's writings. When
a *florid writer* is displaying the merits of a
renowned character, it is no hard matter
to find words to recommend, what he is
before-hand determined to praise. Our bio-
grapher, conscious of his extreme partiality
to his hero, has condescended to prepare us
for a little heightening. He tells us, in the
entrance to his book, that *great characters*, Pref.
are apt to raise us to a strain, which sobriety P. VI.
of thought cannot always approve: but when
we write on them, this effect is still more vi-
sible; and the strength of the impression, we
ourselves feel, easily persuades us we shall be
able to draw our readers within the same
vortex. But to shew his cool and moderate
spirit, he adds, that *he laboured under the* Pref.
opposite prepossession: or rather, if we may P. VII.
speak out, he believed the generality of his
readers did; and so, by kindly endeavour-
ing to make a soothing apology, for *their*
remaining prejudices, he hopeth to excul-
pate himself. To do it more effectually, he
trieth their patience, by provoking them
to the utmost; and treateth with a forward
insolence the cause, that he knows to be,
most dear to, and sacred with them. The
unparalleled merits and abilities of him,
who

P. 112. who is all along the subject of our author's panegyrick, are not to be exhibited, but the censure must fall, upon those *amazing innovations, the renouncing the Pope's supremacy, and separating from the catholic church:*

P. 113. which opened to Pole, *the necessity of treating this argument in a manner suited to the present exigencies.* How well that was done, will be best seen by considering the performance itself, free from any partial bias either for the author or his cause, and uninfluenced by contrary prejudices against both.

P. 133. By the help of *Pole's* apology to the Emperor, inserted in the first volume of *Quirini*, Mr. *Phillips* was enabled to give his readers a sketch of this *celebrated* performance, which, he complaineth, *is now become scarce*, having suffered the common fate of all topical labours. Encouraged by the good opinion which the *very modest* author of this work entertained of it himself, His *English* biographer ventureth to extoll it, for *the weight of the arguments, and the gracefulness with which they are employed.* We are, by this time, too well acquainted with Mr. *Phillips*, to look upon commendations of this sort, in any other light than as things of course. We cannot, however, help suspecting, that Mr. *Phillips* hath never seen the treatise, he here so lavishly praiseth: if he had, and *had weighed*
the

the arguments free from passion and prejudice, would he have exposed the nakedness of his hero, by such fulsome and undeserved encomiums upon his abilities? Had he been inclined to have insulted his memory, he could not have done it more effectually, than by magnifying the *weight of his arguments*.

The style of *Reginald Pole* in this work *on the church's unity*, and indeed in all his writings, is good and *Ciceronian*; but too verbose. He writes, as if he was conscious of the necessity of enveloping himself in a cloud of words, to disguise the poverty of his reasoning. An indifferent reader cannot help being disgusted with *Pole's* manner throughout. He enters upon the work with such a spirit of acerbity, as fully manifests, that he laboured more to gratify his own vanity, and to feed his own spleen, than to convince *Henry* by the soothing language of duty and affection. He could not even command his temper at his first setting out: but, in the very introduction, and whilst he is signifying his doubts, whether he should take up his pen and write, or no; he indulgeth his resentment in reproaching his friend, his benefactor, his patron. He tells the King, that it was not so much through any desire of knowing the truth, that *he* had proposed to his consideration that new and usurped dignity, which *he* had

had taken upon *himself*, of supreme head of the church of *England*, but that *he* might look upon the man of a contrary opinion as an enemy and a traitor, and punish him accordingly. ' — That how vain an attempt it would be, to persuade the King to alter his opinion, they had experienced, who had lost their lives for being of the same opinion with him, who had at first incurred *Henry's* hatred and displeasure, for not giving up the cause of truth; receiving this as the reward of their innocence, to suffer that punishment which was due only to the vilest of malefactors. ²

1 *Ex altera parte, multa mihi sunt impedimento, multa me deterrent. Ante omnia, quod tu non veritatis cognoscendæ studio, hoc mihi argumentum proponis, de potestate Pontificis Romani disputandi, cui adjuncta causa est tui istius novi, & nunc primum usurpati honoris, quo supremi Anglicæ ecclesiæ capitis jus tibi, ac nomen arrogasti: nec quasi de rebus in controversia positis, quid probem, quæris, cum sic alteri parti, & ei quidem quæ maxime cum veritate pugnat, adhæreas, ut qui contra sentire se fateatur, eum tu hostis ac proditoris loco habeas, eandemque in illum pœnam, quam in sceleratissimum quemque statuas.*

Polus de unit. eccles. L. I. p. I. ed. Verger.

2 *Quam autem frustra me fatigarem, si te conarer deducere de sententia, quidnam certius declarare potest, quam eorum, qui idem, quod ego, sentiebant, nullum aliud ob crimen effusus sanguis? Qui cum initio odium tuum, offensionemque propterea suscepissent, quod veritatis causam deferere noluisent: hoc ad ultimum affecuti videntur, ut sceleratorum pœnas homines innocentissimi subirent.*

Ibid. Ibidem.

Was

Was this a proper method to bespeak *Henry's* favour and attention? was such language likely to divert him from his purposes? surely the farthest from it. But what should honest *Pole* do? *Henry*, it will be said, wanted to entrap him: *He did not* P. 112. *doubt what his sentiments were; but he chose this should be the date of that implacable enmity, with which he, ever after, persecuted him and his family.* Be it so! he gained his end to his heart's desire: and *Pole's* hasty violence gave the King the opportunity of *wrecking his vengeance on his family.* Had P. 122. *Reginald* possessed but a common share of prudence and discretion, he might easily have eluded the tyrant's art. But what, if this be not reckoning rather too hastily? *Henry* had neither quarrelled with *Pole*, nor any of his family, at this time: and it was not till some years after, before his friends found any alteration in *Henry's* behaviour; and that was owing to provocations given him by them. The King might indeed suspect, that *Reginald* favoured neither his divorce, nor his supremacy; and if he wanted any occasion (which indeed, is far from being clear) to quarrel with his kinsman upon this account, this work sufficiently justified his warmest resentment. But the King *commanded him to write his* P. 113. *opinion.* True. But if *Pole* disapproved of his proceedings, could he not have written,

I
ten,

ten, with the gratitude of a pensioner, the duty of a subject, and the spirit of a christian? Did his difference with the King compel him to have recourse to weak and gross invectives? When his passions could hurry him to such lengths, at the entrance of his work, neither much temper, nor much reasoning, could be expected in the progress of it.

P. 133. Mr. *Phillips* has produced a striking instance of the vanity and arrogance of *Pole*, notwithstanding the modesty he has ascribed to him. *Reginald*, it seems, had so good an opinion of his own performance, that he told his friend *Priuli*, "that he was so engaged in the defence of *Peter's* ship" (a frequent metaphor of *Pole* upon all occasions) "that he had nothing more at heart, than how to preserve it from the assaults and attempts of all those pirates (how many or various soever) that now or hereafter might attack it." A modest degree of confidence this, truly! And if Mr. *Phillips* had ever perused the work itself, he might have found in it many instances of equal

I --- *Ad Petri scilicet navis defensionem, in qua nunc ita versor, ut nihil mihi majori curæ sit, quam ut eam contra omnium Piratarum conatus, & impetus non modo, qui jam facti sunt, sed & qui vel excogitari possint (qui multi, ut scis, possunt esse & varii) tutam & munitam reddam.*

Ep. ad Priolum. Quirini, v. i. p. 426.

assu-

assurance. I will only produce one example of this spirit; of which it is hard to say, whether the enthusiasm of it is most to be pitied, or the profaneness of it to be detested. He tells the King, "that God commanded him to abuse him. ——— Christ," He says, "ordered him to write these bitter things, not to reproach him, but to shew him his transgressions." The true cant this of every enthusiast! *Reginald* worked himself up to a proper pitch; and then presumptuously fancied the turbulent emotions of his own disturbed mind, to be the dictates of that spirit, which is gentle, and worketh by love.

The bitter, the vindictive wrath, which is kept up throughout this whole work of *Pole*, cannot be palliated by the feeble vindication which himself, and his admirers, offer in excuse of it. *The King*, we are told, *could not be wrought on to enter into* P. 132. *himself, but from the sole dread of having his actions seen in their real light. Milder methods had been applied in vain. But did*

I --- Idem dicere verissime possum, quod David de illo suo conviciatore credebatur, Dominum mihi jussisse, ut tibi hoc meo scripto maledicam . . . Sed quæ mysteria nunc loquor? & quo sum jussus? quis Dominus me talia loqui jussit? idem Princeps qui communis tibi mihiq; est Dominus, Christus inquam me illa scribere jussit, non ut convicia tibi facerem, sed ut peccata tua ostenderem.

Polus de Unit. Eccles. L. 4. p. 84.

P. 132.

Pole ever try any of these *milder methods*? and did this bitterness succeed? or if *Henry* was a brute, must He therefore lay aside all regard to decency and good-manners? If the one was outrageous, must the other be so too? So it seems he thought: and the natural lenity, mildness and humility of the gentle *Pole* was, through mere necessity, set aside; and he must needs try, what railing and scurrility would do. And what had *Henry* done to deserve *this asperity so contrary to Pole's own temper*. He had treated Sir *Thomas More*, and bishop *Fisher*, severely, cruelly, tyrannically. He had indeed. We are sorry those great men should fall under the displeasure of so furious a Prince. "Though they suffered" (as an old friend of *Pole* expressed it, in a letter to him) "by their own folly. Which died, neither for their virtues, nor for the profession of any such matter, which per-

I Eo usque semper abstinui a maledictis & conviciis . . . ut multis mea hæc lenitas, lenitudo potius quædam & demissi humilisque animi signum videretur. Ita semper natura abhorruì a maledictis . . . quid ergo? si talis mea & natura & consuetudo est, . . . commissem unquam ut in Regem . . . qui mea studia benignitate sua fovet, in hunc igitur talem maledicta unquam mea sponte dicerem, nisi qui in me majus Imperium habet, hoc mihi imposuisset?

Ibid. ibidem.

Let the indignant reader remark this hypocritical cant. *Pole* certainly knew not what spirit he was of, when he impiously ascribed to the suggestion of God, the frantic ravings of fanatic spleen.

“taineth

“taineth to Christ’s glory: but only for the
 “superstitious defence of that thing, for
 “the which I think hereafter never wise
 “man will do.”¹ Could *Pole* think, he took
 the right way to prevent any further seve-
 rities, when he irritated *Henry* to the ut-
 most; and collected together, and applied
 to him, all the hard, abusive names that be-
 longed to an infidel, and a reprobate? Of
 all men, *Henry* was the last to be frightened
 by the bullying of a subject; who, most
 ungratefully, attacked him with every in-
 vective, that animated rancour could sug-
 gest. And moreover, what might add ve-
 nom to his expressions, was, that he had
 transferred his allegiance from *Henry* to the
 Pope: he was to be his pensioner for the
 future; and upon that account might in-
 dulse himself the more in his illiberal rail-
 ing, to convince his Holiness, that the
 breach, between himself and *Henry*, was got
 to such an height, that a reconciliation was
 impossible: and therefore he would blow
 the trumpet of war, and raise up those ene-
 mies both at home and abroad, who should
 disturb the tranquillity of *Henry’s* reign.
 And all this forsooth! out of pure good
 will, if we will believe him.² This may be

¹ *Starky’s* letter to *Pole*, inserted in *Strype’s* memo-
 rials, v. i. Appendix, p. 190 — 198.

² *Hactenus ego contra Regem, cui sana ita me adver-
 sarium præstiti, ut eum jam perditum, & sibi, & regno
 suo,*

P. 133. called haranguing, but it is not reasoning. We are desired however, to examine the weight of the arguments.

The supremacy of the bishop of Rome is the point, that *Pole* avowedly labours to establish. He tells the King in the beginning of the work, “that he could not offer
“a greater injury to the church, than when
“he deprived it of its head; and denied
“the *Roman* pontiff to be the only head of
“the church upon earth, and the vicar of
“Christ.” If therefore *Pole* would, or could, exert the powers of manly reasoning, he would upon this subject do his utmost. The second book of the church’s unity is allotted for the proof of this capital article: and some of the arguments shall be produced, as specimens of *Pole’s* weighty method of arguing. The bishop of Rome being the successor of *Peter*; if that Apostle’s primacy is proved, the others, he reckons, is so too. “When Christ told *Peter*,
“he had prayed for his faith,” it was for

suo, quantum in me esset, restituerem, imprimisque Deo, & ecclesiae filium & amicum redderem?

Ep. ad Edw. 6. sect. 45.

1 *Dico igitur, dico hanc abs te injuriam ecclesiae inferri, qua haud scio an major potuerit, quod suum illi caput in terris aufers, cum pontificem Romanum unicum in terris ecclesiae caput, & Christi vicarium negas.*

De Unit. L. 1. p. 3.

2 *Christus ad unum Simonem convertit sermonem,*
(*Luc. 22.*) *quod perinde est, ac si diceret. Simon, cujus*
congre-

“ the faith of him alone, the faith of the
 “ head; and when he added, when thou
 “ art converted strengthen thy brethren, this
 “ was plainly committing his brethren, the
 “ Apostles, to *Peter's* care only; the words
 “ of St. *Luke* declare this fully, and shew
 “ the will of Christ concerning his future
 “ vicar. — *Peter* and *John* performed mi-
 “ racles together; this shews clearly whose
 “ person *Peter* represented: the beloved dis-
 “ ciple, joining himself to *Peter*, when his
 “ Lord was taken away, declared by this
 “ act, that the person of the Lord was
 “ transferred unto *Peter*. — And when
 “ these two disciples ran to the sepulchre,
 “ *John*, though he got there first, went not

*congregationis te Principem & caput constitui . . . sequi-
 tur enim --- Ego rogavi, ut non deficiat fides tua . . .
 Oratio inquam Christi pro fide unius, pro fide capitis. Sed
 adhuc totam rem manifestam faciunt, quæ mox sequuntur
 verba Christi ad unum Petrum, Tu vero, inquit, conver-
 sus confirma fratres tuos. Quid apertius hic dici potest,
 cum cura & confirmatio fidei fratrum Petri, qui erant
 apostoli, committatur soli Petro? Ego rogavi &c. hæc,
 apud Lucam satis quidem aperte, Christi voluntatem de
 futuro suo vicario ostendentia.*

De Unit. L. 2. p. 38.

*1 Petrus cum Joanne consociatus miracula edidit, id vel
 maxime significet, cujus personam Petrus sustineret, a quo
 dilectus ille Jesu discipulus, eo qui diligebat sublato, non
 fere discederet, sed ejus lateri, ut quondam Domini solebat,
 perpetuo adhæreret, eo ipso declarans personam Domini in
 Petrum fuisse translata.*

Ibid. ibidem.

in,

“in, signifying, that he must wait his com-
 “ing, who now occupied the place of
 “Christ: but when *Peter* came and enter-
 “ed into the sepulchre, he also went in af-
 “ter him; as if he had a mind to testify,
 “that it was his privilege to go first into
 “the sepulchre of the dead Christ, to whom
 “Christ himself had bequeathed his place.”
 — Again. “Only *Peter* walked upon the
 “water, not staying for a ship, to go to
 “his master. Only *Peter* drew the net a-
 “shore. These are spoken in a mystery.”
 “— When Christ said unto him, feed my
 “sheep, without any exception, the whole
 “church is committed to his care, and he
 “is appointed the pastor of it.” — And

1 *Si igitur nihil erat, quod ad Petrum præcipue perti-
 nere duceret, cur non qui prior accurrerat statim ut venit,
 introivit? commodius profecto introisset in monumentum
 solus. Sed cursum repressit, . . . quid aliud significans, quam
 expectari oportere eum, qui Christi locum obtineret? . . .
 venit autem Simon Petrus, & introivit monumentum. Se-
 quiturque, tunc introivit & ille discipulus . . . quasi sig-
 nificare vellet, ingredi primum in monumentum Christi mor-
 tui, pertinere ad eum, cui Christus ipse locum suum esset
 relicturus. Ibid. p. 39.*

2 *Petrus, simul ac vidit Dominum in littore non expec-
 tavit, ut navigio, . . . ad eum veniret, sed statim sese
 in mare demisit, in quo personam Christi maxime expressit,
 ambulans super aquam, cum cæteri navigio veherentur.
 Itemque de Petro solo eodem loco dicitur Ascendit Petrus &
 traxit rhete in terram, plenum quinquaginta tribus piscibus.
 Quæ omnia in mysterio dicuntur. Ibid. Ibidem.*

3 *Verba ipsa nonne per se ipsa clara sunt? si oves
 Christi pascere a Christo summo pastore Petrus jubetur,
 nonne Oves Christi curæ Petri committuntur? si omnes
 quicumque in ecclesia sunt, Oves Christi sunt, cum Oves
 Christi*

“ the bishop of *Rome* succeeded *Peter* in
 “ his authority, for when Christ said, lo, I
 “ am with you always even unto the end
 “ of the world, not indeed corporally pre-
 “ sent with you; but there shall never be
 “ wanting those, who shall represent my
 “ person, and to whom I will give the same
 “ divine power, as to you: † now,” says our
 acute reasoner, “ no other See, but that of
 “ *Rome*, can reckon a constant succession of
 “ bishops; which could not have been, if
 “ that church had not been supported by
 “ the word of Christ. † — And *Cyprian*, †
 “ and *Hierom*, † call the church of *Rome*,
 “ the See of *Peter*.”

These are some of those *weighty* and *ir-*
refragable arguments, which *Pole* so *grace-*
fully employs, in this *most celebrated and im-*
portant of all his writings. To produce
 them, is to expose them; for in truth they
 deserve no other notice, than the most so-

Christi sine ulla exceptione, Petro committantur tanquam
pastori, nonne tota ecclesia illius curæ & gubernationi
. attribuitur? nonne is jam pastor totius ecclesiæ
declaratur? Ibid. ibidem.

1 *Spiritu quidem nunquam a vobis discedam usque ad*
consummationem sæculi, corpore certe præsens non ero: cæ-
terum nullo tempore deerunt, qui personam meam sustine-
ant, quibus eandem quam tibi, divinam potestatem dabo,
&c. Ibid. p. 40.

2 *Quod de nulla ecclesia, nisi Romana . . . ostendi*
potest, quod certe fieri non potuisset, nisi verbo Christi Roma
. niteretur. Ibid. p. 41.

3 *Ibid. p. 44.*

4 *Ibid. p. 46.*

vereign

vereign contempt: and though there be many passages in this work nervous and pathetic, yet nothing can be more idle and trifling, than the argumentative part of it. We do not therefore wonder to find, that they were pretty much despised when they were sent first into *England*, as having nothing of *weight* in them.' And yet Mr. *Phillips*, loath to lose a smart sentence that struck him, hath adopted for his own, this shrewd remark of *Quirini*² — Thus, as the errors of *Jansenius* are said to have found a grave prepared for them in the writings of *Sadolet*, it may be added, that *Luther's* have met with the same fate in those of *Contareni* and *Pole*. Positive assertions are sooner made, than proved. *Contareni*, perhaps, reasoning neither more *weightily*, nor more *gracefully* than *Pole*, the Friar's writings and doctrines were so far from finding a grave in the works of either of these, that they are still extant, and in credit: whereas all the

P. 286.

1 *Quæ ad Regem, & ejusdem consultores a tua Paternitate in Britanniam scripta privatim mittuntur, ea crede cum maximis cachinnis excipi, & ceu nihil ponderis habentia irrideri.*

Anglus quidam Polo. Quirini, v. 2. Diatribæ, p. C. & Ep. p. 77.

2 *Jansenisticæ doctrinæ tumulum in Sadoletica reperiri, quorundam Catholicorum Doëtorum effatum est, pari ratione insignem cladem a Contareno, & Polo retulisse doctrinam Lutheranam dicendum erit.*

Quirini, v. 3. Præf. p. 86.

dignity

dignity of the others, have hardly had *weight* enough with the learned world to preserve their labours; and they are better known, as cardinals, than as writers. But, so a compliment could be made to *Pole*, our joint authors, *Quirini* and Mr. *Phillips*, are much less solicitous to examine the propriety of it, than how often they can offer up the grossest incense to the imaginary, faultless character of their all-perfect hero.

Burnet and *Verger* have fallen under the lash of *Quirini*'s pen, for presuming to censure this *most celebrated* performance. The cardinal¹ is highly offended, that the bishop should speak so disrespectfully of it, and say that it *was more esteemed for the* P. 134.
note. *high quality of the author, than for sound reasoning.* His *English* copier repeats the censure: but they differ in their reply to this *bold assertor*. The One refers us to the handsome things that *Casa* hath said of *Pole* in the life of *Bembo*.² The Other modestly says, that, *what has been already said, refutes this peremptory decision.* Mr. *Phillips* P. 134.
note.

¹ *Quirini*, v. 1. *Diat.* c. 5. p. 329, referring to *Burnet* hist. Ref. but making no reference to volume, book, or page, our writer has left his readers equally in the dark, where to find the bishop's just character of this trifling, flashy, self-sufficient performance of *Pole*. It occurs in v. 1. book 3. p. 221.

² *Quirini*, *ibid.* p. 330.

must certainly think very meanly of his readers, if he flatters himself he can command their understanding, or their assent, at pleasure. What we have produced here, will, we hope, confirm bishop *Burnet's* opinion ; and lessen the high conceit, that our author, or others, may entertain, of *the sound reasoning* made use of in this work.

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P. x.

Our biographer tells us, that he *might have trifled very learnedly with the misrepresentations of writers of some note, to which the course of his work had led him.* It would have done him no harm, to have looked into those writers a little more than he did. His knowledge lay in a narrower compass than comparing different historians : happily for him, his *learning* was acquired at an easier rate. The laborious *Quirini* had gone through the drudgery of collecting the greatest part of the materials requisite to illustrate his subject : and where he did not pursue the history, others, as little known, might easily enough be had to supply his deficiencies. *Le-Grand* has helped him to most of the particulars of *Henry's* divorce : where he ended, Mr. *Phillips* was forced to have recourse to his old co-adjutor. *Quirini* could enable him to display his judgment in collecting his materials, and his *learning* in defending *Pole* : the *English* were strangers to the cardinal's name and character ;
and

and all would go off, as his own, with eclat :

*Labore alieno magno partam gloriam
Verbis in sese transmovet ; qui habet
salem.*

Who could detect him ? he called himself an author, who could prove him to be little more than a mere translator ? what, if no body could ? he must yet be conscious himself of his own vanity, and ever fear the shame of detection. And tho' his credit might be unimpeached, yet his industry and his care in the compilation of his materials, would be called in question. Had he condescended to have consulted those historians he gives himself the air to slight, they would have furnished him with many documents greatly to his purpose. He says indeed, that *access has been had to all our* Pref. records. We know it well. We find others p. x. did take that pains. But we doubt very much, whether Mr. *Phillips* himself ever consulted any one of those records : but where he does appeal to them, he well knows his parade of diligence cometh often times, from some of these slighted historians.

In the part now under consideration, our author resteth contented with what he found in *Quirini*,¹ to illustrate the history

¹ *Diatriba ad Epist. Reg. Poli, c. 5. from p. 307*
--- 362. *Quir. v. 1.*

of *Pole's* work on the *church's* unity: he does not seem to have given himself any trouble, in inquiring into the sentiments of our own writers concerning that book, any further, than the information he received from the cardinal. *Burnet* and *Strype* have produced, from the public records, many particulars relating to this very treatise worth his notice; the omission of which would be deemed unpardonable in any impartial and accurate historian, who had but heard of their names, and was desirous to render his own work the more compleat.

Sampson's book, which the King sent to *Pole*, and against which he professedly wrote his own book, Mr. *Strype* has inserted in his memorials of the reformation.¹ From the same author we learn, how this important work was received in *England* by *Pole's* best friends, and well-wishers; and the trouble they gave themselves to state the matter fully and clearly to him.² *Quirini*,³ and his copier, tell us, that when

P. 128. *Pole* sent the work on the church's unity to the King, Henry wrote to him by the same Messenger. Now, had Mr. *Phillips* consulted Bp *Burnet*, he would have communicated to him those private instructions, *Pole* en-

¹ Vol. I. appendix, p. 109, &c.

² *Strype's* Memorials, v. I. c. 37 and 38. p. 289, &c.

³ *Quirini*, v. I. p. 340.

trusted with the messenger, who carried his book to the King. ¹ And, what *his answer* P. 128. to Henry really was, when he commanded him home to explain his book, is preserved by Mr. Strype. ²

The subject matter of correspondence between Pole and his *English* friends, is stated in two long letters of Reginald to his confident Contareni; ³ and elucidated by Quirini in the chapter above referred to.

¹ Burnet, Ref. v. 3. Records, p. 460.

² Strype's memorials, v. i. appendix, p. 199.

³ Mr. Phillips, when he gives us the substance of these letters, p. 128, &c. rendereth these words of Pole, *ut præcise & aperte negem, me domum rediturum, nisi Res prius domum ipse, id est ad ecclesiam redeat, a qua . . . erat alienissimus* (Quir. v. i. p. 456.) Thus, *That he would return to his country, when he could do it with honour and safety.* But by what kind of construction, is hard to say. It is agreeable to the liberty he takes in the next page, where relating the substance of Cromwell's and Tonsal's remonstrances, he makes Pole say, at the close, that they made him (*besides bewailing his country's misfortunes*) endeavour to convey to the King that truth, which so many measures contributed to extinguish. P. 129. Whereas Pole's own words are, *sciant me nunquam illi defuturum . . . quo minus veritatem, & salutarem sententiam cognitam non omnibus modis illius animo inculcem.* Ibid. p. 474.

But it would be tiresome to produce every instance, where this licentious humour of translation is indulged; was this, or the faulty translations, to be carefully noted, few of Mr. Phillips's authorities would be found to have escaped the correcting improvements of his luxuriant pen.

v. Quir. v. i. Ep. Poli Contareno, p. 455, and p. 470.

His

P. 129. His translator is indeed much more civil to *Pole* than any of his correspondents, or even *Quirini* himself; for he maketh *Cromwell* to address him (in the abstract, he has badly translated, of a letter from *Pole* to *Contareni*) under the style and title of *My Lord*; to which he had no more right or pretensions, than *Mr. Phillips*, I believe, hath; and which *Pole* himself could give him no reason to add, from the account he sent *Contareni* of the letter he had received from that minister of state. Sure I am, his other friends contented themselves with calling him, *Sir*, or *Master*: and if we may guess from *Pole's* absurd behaviour to *Cromwell*, or his malicious invectives against him, he had no reason to expect any further civilities from him, than he could legally claim.

P. 134. *Mr. Phillips* proceeds and tells us, *Pole* answered *Tonstal's* letter, which he says was rather a volume than an epistle. *Pole* does indeed say this in a letter to his confidant *Contareni*; where he betrays a sufficient degree of vanity and self-conceit, to say it of *Tonstal's* letter, when his reply to it was so immoderately tedious and prolix. The bishop of *Durham's* letter is inserted by bishop *Burnet* amongst his records,¹ and containeth about 6 pages: *Pole's* reply is pre-

¹ *Burnet*, Ref. v. 3. Records, p. 464.

served by *Strype*, and filleth no less than 13 pages.¹ In this letter, the bishop contented himself with attacking the foundation of the principles advanced by *Pole* in his late book; which drew from him that verbose letter, which, with greater truth, may be called, *rather a volume than an epistle*. Upon this, *Tonstal* renewed his objections to P. 137. the papal authority, in a letter wrote in his own and *Stokesley's* name, and sent to *Pole* upon his nomination to a red hat, as he terms it; wherein he entered into a very minute examination of the weighty and convincing arguments of *Pole's* book.² Besides these, there are two or three very earnest letters written by *Thomas Starky*, a chaplain of the King, and an old and intimate friend of *Pole*; who expostulated with him, in a very home and sensible manner, upon his violent, perverse, and disloyal behaviour towards *Henry*.³

Had *Quirini* known any thing of these letters, his translator would have heard of them too; and triumphed in the *access that* Pref. *had been had to our public records*, for there p. x. are they preserved: and if we compare them

¹ *Strype's* Memorials, v. 1. Append, p. 206.

² *Tonstal's* second letter. *Knight's* life of *Erasmus*, Append, p. LXVI. *Strype's* Mem. v. 1. p. 299. and life of *Parker*, p. 47.

³ *Strype's* Mem. v. 1. p. 291, and p. 298. Append. p. 188, and p. 190.

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p. xii.

with the short and unfair representation which the self complacent *Pole* giveth, of those he mentions, to *Contareni*, we shall find some human foibles in the character of this *most conspicuous personage of his Epoch*; and that his *modest worth* was no more void of *vanity and ostentation*, than other inferior mortals.

The trouble his friends in *England* gave themselves, was all in vain. *Reginald* was not to be moved. Conscious of his influence, and malignity against *Henry*, he was afraid to trust himself into his power. *The Vicar of Christ* however soon relieved him of his embarrassment, by ordering him to *Rome, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ*: and glad he was to shelter himself under that all-powerful protection. And no entreaties or remonstrances from *Henry*, or his own family, could prevent his taking this offensive step; though, he knew, they considered it, as the public renouncing of all duty and gratitude to his sovereign, all regard to his friends and family, and all love to his country. He was so absorbed in the *Vortex* of the Pope's supremacy, that these motives affected him not. From this time, he indulged himself in every malevolent disposition towards *Henry*. To deceive him-

1 *Ep. Pauli Papæ 3. Reg. Polo.*

Quirini, v. i. p. 466.

self

self, and to disguise it more artfully from others, he cloathed it in the garb of religion: and to palliate his over-acts of treason, he made his fears for the church, the vehicle of his railing. In a letter to *Contareni*, instead of speaking with that degree of kindness, which a *milder heart* would have done, for the sollicitude the king (who ^{Prof. P. xii.} certainly loved him much) had shewed to reclaim him, if possible, and draw him to his duty; he rather betrays a wicked malignity of heart, in harbouring a suspicion, that his life was in danger; and therefore he desires his friend to advise with his Holiness, how he might best escape the snare. Mr. *Phillips* indeed says, *the Event* ^{P. 138.}

I Nunc, ut scires, quo statu & quo periculo versor . . . hunc tabellarium misi, & simul ut rogarem, ut de hac re cum S. D. N. conferas maxime, qua ratione ab horum insidiis, qui ex hac causa mihi erunt inimicissimi, tutus esse possim. De hoc enim maxime laboro, quod sciam, postquam me verbis flecti posse desperarint, eos omnia conaturos, ut me e medio tollant.

Quirini, v. 1. Ep. Poli Cont. p. 483.

Mr. *Phillips* has taken his usual liberties with this letter. *Pole* does not say, *the news of his journey had already reached the King's ears*: his own messenger, whom he had sent to *Henry* to acquaint him with his invitation to *Rome*, was returned, and he says, brought back with him, the strongest dissuatives against that journey. *Cromwell's* letter, he adds, was written in the King's name, *atque has ex Regis verbis scripsit*. His mother's and brother's letters, he adds, *quæ me maxime movebant, erant scriptæ sic miserabiliter ut . . . prope succubuerim*. In consequence of his resolution to pursue his journey, he did not, as Mr. *Phillips* tells us, write to Lord *Crom-*

K 2
well,

verified the prediction. But surely *Pole* indulged his fears too early. His enemies as he called, and had made them such, had hitherto been striving to recover his affection, by the arts of persuasion; and had given him no reason for this jealousy. His over-cautious, affected anxiety might perhaps incline them to humour him in his own way; and to keep up those alarming fears, which his own suspicious temper had first raised.

P. 136.

When *Charles the 5th* was expected in *Italy*, not to be crowned by the *Pope* (for that had been done some years before) but to have a conference with him concerning the affairs of *Italy*, and the pacification of *Germany*; *Pole*, in some letters of his to *Priuli* wrote about this time, expresseth great uneasiness at the apprehensions of a renewal of friendship between *Henry* and the Emperor. He entreats him most earnestly to prevent such an accommodation: and when *Priuli* seemed to think it an improper season, for the Emperor to meddle in *English* matters, because of the wars he

well, &c. p. 138. but to give the whole in his own words, *Pole* himself says. *Quare statim nuncium remissi ad Regem . . . tale vero responsum dedi, ut facile sciret, tali in causa, nihil me ullius hominis minas facere. Tun-*
stalli vero litteris, vel potius volumini . . . non minus
longa oratione . . . respondi. Parentibus autem, ut potui,
satisfeci.

1 Father *Paul's* hist. of the council of *Trent*, B. 1, p. 78.

was

was engaged in: *Pole*, upon this, vehemently expostulated with him, in the long letter here referred to, for his worldly maxims; for being contented that the care of prosecuting the war, should take place of that of religion. What was this, he tells him, but to defer that to a more convenient opportunity, which, God had commanded, should be first of all consulted. ¹ It requires but little sagacity, to penetrate into *Pole's* real designs. He certainly wanted his friend *Priuli* to prevail upon *Contareni*, by the warmest persuasions, to instigate the Emperor, to put into execution the sanguinary advice he had inculcated into him, in that impertinent harangue addressed to him in the body of his late work; which was, to divert his arms from the eastern to the western Mahometan, as the greater foe of the two to Christ and his church. ² *Pole's*

¹ *Hoc tumultu belli nihil a me ejusmodi expectari jubes. Quid ergo expectabimus, ut belli gerendi consilia religionis causæ juvandæ consiliis anteponanantur? At hæc post finito bello commodius agentur. Ita ne vero, quæ Deus primo loco habenda censuit, tu in secundum rejicies, & dices commodius illic reponi? . . . An hoc modo pericula bellorum evitantur, si ejus causæ secundo loco ratio habeatur, in cujus manu sunt omnes victoriæ? . . . An animus tuus tanti beneficii in Christi ecclesiam conscius dubitare de victoria possit?*

Quirini, v. I. Ep. Poli Aloysio Prioli, p. 451.

² *Ne dubitare quidem possum, multo graviora pati posse sub hoc Occidentali Turca Christianos, quam sub Orientali, quanquam sub utroque gravia, sed hic gravior Christi hostis,*

subsequent behaviour will fully justify the severity of this remark.

P. 131. *Reginald's* historians are as much at a loss to defend him from *the capital objection of a personal animosity and spirit of revenge*, as ever *Pole* himself was. But if he was blameless in this respect, what occasion had he to take so much pains to justify himself? If his reproof of *Henry* proceeded from love, how came his own friends to mistake it for virulence? If he was wronged, by being charged with too much vehemence in this work, would he not have softened his language, in the apology which he addressed to the Emperor some years afterwards? If the former treatise was written in the heat of passion and resentment, by that time he might have cooled a little, and profited by advice and experience. But his implacable, revengeful malignity (for his perseverance in these opprobrious reproaches of his sovereign, cannot well be called by any other name) is expressed in that apology, in still stronger terms.

Quirini, one of those who will always have the last word, in some prefatory discourses to the 3 first volumes of *Pole's* epistles, labours most strenuously to vindicate

tis, qui nomen Christiani tenens, in servos Christi ita sævit.

Quirini, v. 2. *Ep. Reg. Poli Contareno*, p. 198.

1 *Epistola Schelhornii cum animadversionibus*, in the
1st

him from this imputation. What others may call rancour and hatred, he says, is all love and mildness. How so? why, there are many pious wishes for the King's reformation, in this and the other writings and letters of *Pole*. We believe *Pole* to be full as weak a bigot, as he was a reasoner; and that he could at any time quiet his conscience, by giving a pious turn to his venom. This is no uncommon, or extraordinary case.

The oration in the 3d book, *where the discourse is turned from the King to the Emperor*, being looked upon as the most exceptionable part of the whole work, the cardinal thinks he has fully vindicated his favourite character, by saying, that if *Pole* intended the ruin, rather than the safety of the King, he would have sent it directly to the Emperor, rather than to *Henry*; ¹ and therefore it was only to forewarn him of the danger he was in, and kindly to shew him how to avoid it: ² that is to say, in plain

P. 131.

note.

1st volume. *Præfatio ad lectorem, & Epist. altera Schelhornii, cum animadversionibus*, in the 2d volume. *Judicium Lipsiense cum animadversionibus*, in the 3d. *Quirini*, as well as *Pole*, was fond of writing, and never would give up a point. But he was drove hard in these animadversions, and forced to repeat, over and over again, those arguments, the substance of which Mr. *Phillips* has given, p. 132.

1 *Quirini*, v. 1. *Præf.* p. xxx.

2 *Ibid. ibid. Præf.* p. lxii.

and

- P. 132. *English, Pole chose to bully his Prince; and vainly thought, he would be moved by such distant threats. But will this lessen either the vanity, or the forwardness, of this young reprovor? As to the charge of hatred of his Prince; the reluctance he always shew-
ed to any one seeing the work but Henry, is all the justification he can stand in need of, in Mr. Phillips's opinion. If any marks of real love and duty appeared, we would listen to this defence: but his actions and letters totally contradict it. Before this work was sent to the King, besides Priuli and Contareni, the revisers of it; Beccatelli,¹ and the arch-bp of Naples,² afterwards Pope Paul the 4th, and others, saw it: and the only reason, of Pole's unwillingness of its being shewn to Clement the 7th, was, lest it should come by any means to the King of England's ears.³*
- P. 132. *It was some few years after printed privately at Rome, when Pole was legate in Spain,⁴ by order of the Pope, and advice and consent of Contareni: and though great care was taken to conceal it, yet some copies of it got, very early, abroad; for Damian a Goes wrote to Pole, in 1540, from*

¹ Ibid. Ibid. *Ep. Poli, Priolo*, p. 439.

² Ibid. v. 4. *Ep. Poli Magistro Sacri Palatii*, p. 92.

³ Ibid. v. 1. *Ep. Poli, Priolo*, p. 443.

⁴ A. D. 1539, or 1540. *Quirini*, v. 1. pref. p. xix. *Diatriba*, pl. 313. and v. 4. *Ep. Poli* --- p. 85.

Louvain, to beg a copy of him; telling him, that the only one which had found its way into *Flanders*, had fallen into the hands of the *English* resident, and been burnt by him. But notwithstanding all the pains to suppress it, it could not be supposed, that a book wrote upon such an occasion, and by such a person, could be kept an entire secret. It is rather astonishing, it could remain so long in private hands, considering the sufficient authority we have for saying, that *Pole* was not at all shy of communicating it to choice and trusty friends. *Verger*, one as likely to know this fact as any body, being at that time a favourite of the court of *Rome*, and the *Pope's* Nuncio in *Germany*, tells us, "that he made presents of his book, to Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, Kings, and Princes, whom he

I *Quirini*, v. 3. *Ep. Poli*, p. 37. How some of *Pole's* foreign friends fed themselves with the hopes, either of the red hat's overspreading, or perhaps that the triple crown might be united to, the imperial crown of *England*, we may guess from the curious conclusion of this letter of *a Goes* --- *valebis amplissime Pole, quem, si in meis auguriis aliquid veri est, adhuc Regem Angliæ videbimus, quod cum evenerit, fac ut memor sis nostri, & prophetiæ nostræ. Lovanii, 12 Octobris, 1540.* *A Goes's* zeal for his friend was pretty warm: and *Pole*, to do him justice, did not encourage his sooth-saying correspondent at all; but plainly told him, he believed his prayers would do him more good, than his predictions.

Ibid. Ep. Poli, a Goes, p. 38.

" was

“ was desirous to oblige.” ¹ *Sleidan* likewise, mentioning this book and the occasion of *Pole's* writing it, adds, “ they say, he
 “ printed his book at *Rome* at his own
 “ charge, and ordering all the copies to be
 “ brought to him, gave them out only to
 “ the Pope and cardinals, and to his special
 “ friends; for he was willing to stand fair
 “ in their opinion, and was likewise afraid,
 “ it's probable, of falling under the censure
 “ of those, who had several times heard
 “ him discourse very differently upon that
 “ subject.” ² And this is moreover confirmed, from the frequent mention there is made of this book, in very many letters which passed between *Pole* and several of his friends, and the prolix account given of it, to some of his correspondents, long before *Verger* published it.

P. 131.
 note.

Mr. *Phillips* tells us, that *Verger* procured a copy of the work, . . . and published it with the most virulent notes. His chief invectives, he adds, have no other foundation than his own mistake. *Reginald*, in the third book, turns his discourse from the King to the Emperor, and continues, through several pages, in this figure; and *Verger* represents this diversion of speech as a separate work, &c.

¹ --- mercatus gratiam his exemplaribus a Pontificibus, Cardinalibus, Episcopis, Regibus atque Principibus quibus placere studuit. *Præf. ad opus Poli*, &c. p. 2.

² *Sleidan*, B. 10. p. 210.

This

This it is to write at random. From this account, we are pretty sure, that Mr. *Phillips* hath never seen either of the books that *Verger* published upon this occasion: nor indeed did he sufficiently attend to the information *Quirini* could have given him, who clearly distinguishes between them both.¹ The first book (if a small pamphlet may be called a book) that *Verger* published, was that address or oration to the Emperor, by itself; which so far from representing as a separate work, that in the very title page, he expressly asserts the contrary, saying that it was *extracted from it*.² At the end of the dedication, wherein he charges *Pole* with once favouring their doctrine, he tells his friend, he will shortly send him the whole work from whence he took this oration.³ Then follow some severe and sarcastical notes or scholia, chiefly reflecting upon the supposed incongruity of

1 *Quirini*, v. i. *Diat.* p. 324.

2 The title runs thus, *Oratio Reginaldi Poli, &c. --- excerpta ex ejus libris, quibus titulum fecit, pro unitatis ecclesiasticæ defensione, cum scholiis Athanasii. A.D. 1554.* A thin 4^{to}. containing not many pages.

3 It is dedicated thus. *Athanasius N. Pastori Augustano — Scio cardinalem Polum . . . se non abhorreere a nostra doctrina, atque hoc ipsa re declaraturum dixisse, si comitia celebrentur. . . unde possis judicium facere, quam peritum artificem in dissimulando habueris sub tuo tecto, &c. Brevi mittam ad te totum eum librum, ex quo orationem descripsi.*

P. 134.
note.

Pole's profession and behaviour. The next year (1555) *Verger* was as good as his word, and published the whole work; and commented on it, says our knowing author, with all the acrimony of an adversary. But he did not learn this from *Quirini*, in the place from whence he took, what, by stopping in the middle of a sentence, he is pleased to call, an advantageous testimony of the performance: whereas the close of that sentence gives quite another turn to it, and is far from being a compliment, either to the honour or the honesty of *Pole*.¹ And moreover the cardinal is there censuring *Verger* for the bitter construction he made of *Pole's* care to conceal the publication of his book; and referreth his reader to *Verger's* preface to that work, which, he says, he printed cum *Antidotis*,² (which Mr. *Phillips* seemeth to mistake for *Notes*) exhibiting as a proof of *Verger's* invectives, that very pas-

¹ Scripsit hic libros quatuor de unitate ecclesiastica: in hos quicquid unquam ab ullo scriptum pro pontifice acute & callide & subtiliter fuit, undique congeffit, magnis eloquentiæ luminibus, non ad veritatis lucem, sed ad tegumentum mendaciorum, per summam fraudem atque malitiam. *Verg. Præf.* p. 2. cited by *Quir.* v. i. *Diat.* p. 374.

² Quo magis candide, quo magis pacate a *Polo* ista narrantur de cura a se suscepta in celando libro suo . . . eo acerbiores, eo virulentiores *Vergerii* de eodem argumento orationem reperiri in præfatione quam iste apposuit libro *Poli* a se cum *Antidotis*, anno 1555 *Argentorati* divulgato. *Ibid.* *ibid.*

sage,

sage, which our *English* writer, by curtailing it, would impose upon his readers, as an advantageous testimony, from an adversary, of the performance.

So far from it, that it appears from this and other places of the preface, that *Verger* had really a contemptible opinion of it, and looked upon it as a very shallow performance. He saith, "that *Pole* hath
"urged no new arguments: that he hath
"indeed some strokes of oratory, not of
"sense to add weight to his conclusions,
"but of words only, taken from the shops
"of rhetoricians, to fill the ear, but not
"convince the judgment; and they ap-
"plied in such a manner, as to give it the
"air of a juvenile, more than a grave per-
"formance." *Verger's* judgment of this verbose flimsy work, is, we see the same, in other words, with that of *Burnet*: and so unfortunate is Mr. *Phillips* in appealing to

I In hoc libro legendo, animadverti, Polum nullo argumento uti, quo non sint usi in concludendo alii, neque ullum telum emittere, quod non jactum sit a reliquis, qui Papatum defenderunt. Ornamenta quædam attulit, non sententiarum, quæ pondus afferant conclusionibus, sed verborum e Sophistarum officinis, quæ aures impleant, non satisfaciant mentibus eorum, qui legunt, & ea ipsa ita adhibita sunt, ut magis exercitationis, cujusdam juvenilis videantur, quam seriæ actionis. --- He had before made this remark, *Pole*, omnia sua levia & anilia argumenta, tanquam fucosa auro, sic verborum inflato ornatu, in quibus veritas occultaretur, mendacium defenderetur, in vulgus prodere conatus est, &c. *Verger. Præf. p. 3.*

the

P. 134.
note.

the testimony of the former, that, we fear, he will hardly escape the censure of being an ignorant, as well as a false and *bold assertor*. For this is not the only blunder he makes concerning *Verger*, or his writings.

P. 131.
note.

He had told us before, that *Verger* published the work on the church's unity with the most virulent notes. He did not. He published it without any notes at all. Nor

P. 131.

did he then make any objection to *Pole's animosity and spirit of revenge* against *Henry*: for there he takes no notice at all of it. The virulent notes, he might have learned from *Quirini*,¹ were not added to the work; but were those few inserted at the end of the oration when he published it by itself: afterwards, when the whole came out, it was printed without any notes at all. There was indeed a sharp preface prefixed to it, but in that, *Verger* took no notice of any difference between *Pole* and *Henry*, it was not necessary, as he had done it before. He only
 “ reproached *Reginald* for his paltry and
 “ disingenuous behaviour in dispersing his
 “ book with such privacy, that no copies
 “ could be procured to expose the venom

¹ *Polus* exeruit pariter Christianum zelum in oratione ad *Carolus Cæsarem* . . . quamque typis edendam curavit, adjunctis virulentissimis scholiis, an. 1554. sub *Athanasii* nomine latens, *Petrus Paulus Vergerius*, quod paulo post de toto opere (non sine antidotis ait ipse) pariter præstitit. *Quirini*, v. 1, p. 324. See also, p. 374.

“ of

“ of it : that difficulty being got over,” he says, “ he found it did not answer expectation. Instead of being a formidable defence, it was an empty nothing : he was therefore willing to exhibit it to the world as an harmless performance. But to prevent its doing any mischief to ignorant persons, or those not used to such kind of writings, he had, by way of antidote, added some treatises written upon the same subject by *Luther* and other learned men ; by which they might be enabled to trace the rise and progress of the papal power.” This is the substance of the preface : and those treatises of *Luther*, and some other reforming divines, are published, as well as *Pole’s* book, without any notes or remarks whatever.

Mr. *Phillips* proceeds on in the same P. 131. note, and says, *the argument* (of *Pole’s* disloyal animosity, I suppose) *was taken up, about 25 years ago, though with much more decency, by Schelhorn, public professor at Hamburg. Schelhorn* calls himself, and so doth *Quirini* style him, *Ecclesiasta & Bibliothecarius Memingensis*. But how Mr. *Phillips* came to remove and send him to *Hamburg*, I know not ; for, if living, I believe, he is still resident at *Memingen*. And the argument he took up, was managed by him with very great ability, and very great candour, in a long and accurate history of
this

this work of *Pole* on the church's unity; and afterwards in a controversy with *Quirini*,² whose invincible obstinacy, and overbearing method of arguing, so confounded the modest *Schelborn*, that seeing no end of such a dispute, he fairly gave up the point, being equally tired of the contest and the adversary.

P. 131.
note.

To make the note compleat, our author goes on in the same careless, blundering manner; and informs us, that *Gardiner*, *Tonstal*, and *Sampson* attacked the dogmatical part of the work, and the two last, with *Stokesley*, bestowed abuse, very liberally, on the author. Where did Mr. *Phillips* learn all this? He had it not from *Quirini*: tho' it is true, he does name them all together in one place; but not so much as adversaries of *Pole*, as of his cause; and as inferior in worth to *More*, *Fisher*, and *Warham*.³ Our author's memory, we fear, hath here failed him a little: and he forgetteth what, some pages back, he himself had

¹ *Historia operis, quod Reginaldus Polus adversus Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regem pro unitatis ecclesiasticæ defensione olim conscripsit.*

Amœn. hist. eccles. & Litt. tom. I. p. I. &c.

² Prefixed to *Quirini's* first and second volume.

³ *Si equidem causæ adversarios, cum laudatissimis ipsius patronis, comparandos, nancisci valuisset, Gardinerius, Tunstallus, Stokesleius, Sampson, nimis quam distant a Mori, Fisheri, & Varami præstantia.*

Quirini, v. I. Diat. p. 366.

asserted

asserted from his own oracle,¹ that *Samp-son's* and *Gardiner's treatises* were prior to *Pole's*; therefore they could not well attack the dogmatical part of a work, which was not perhaps, when they wrote their books, so much as thought of. And if he will deign to look into *Tonstal's* and *Stokesley's* letters, now he knows where to find them, he will see in them *no abuse at all*, but great friendship, great tenderness, and sound reasoning, thrown away upon the obstinate and inflexible *Pole*.

Verger, having been thus instrumental in the publication of this work *on the church's unity*, we will add a few lines concerning this memorable personage. He was bishop of *Justinople* or *Capo d'Istria* in *Italy*, and had been employed for many years by Pope *Clement* the 7th, and his successor *Paul* the 3d, as their Nuncio in *Germany*.² He had been at *Augsbourg*, at *Worms*, at *Prague*, at *Naples*, and other places, to treat with the Emperor, and the reformed Princes and States, about religious matters, and the calling of a council; and was in those interviews and conferences, a very able and active instrument in the Pope's behalf; who was dissuaded from rewarding his services, as

¹ *Quirini*, v. I. p. 308.

² *Vergerius* cujus sedula opera Clemens 7, ac Paulus 3, per Germaniam usi fuerant, vir magnæ doctrinæ & Ferdinando Regi . . . valde carus.

Thuanus, L. 5. A. D. 1548.

he intended, by advancing him to the purple, upon this suggestion, that he had been so long and so often in *Germany*, that he was become a *Lutheran*. *Verger*, to wipe off this aspersions, was desirous to prove his orthodoxy, by writing against the apostates of *Germany*. This obliged him to converse as much with their books as a divine, as he had done before with their persons, in the character of a statesman. He soon found the difficulties of what he had undertaken. Surprised and confounded at the strength and solidity of the reformers reasonings, he was convinced by the force of those arguments, he could not satisfactorily answer; and became, by degrees, a convert to those very principles, which he had at first sat down to confute. The vigilance of inquirers soon discovered, or suspected, his change of opinion; and obliged him to fly from his diocese. The council of *Trent* being then met, the bishop went there to vindicate himself; but as so great a crime as heresy was objected against him, he was, by the Pope's express orders, neither permitted to take his place there, nor to justify himself. These and other indignities being offered to him, he retired first to *Padua*, where being a witness of the deplorable end of the despairing *Spira*, he was so greatly affected with that shocking scene (an account of which he soon after published) that,

that, never to experience such dreadful agonies of a guilty conscience for denying the truth, he fully resolved to leave his country, and friends, and all that he had; and go where he might safely profess and teach that doctrine, which, upon the most rational inquiry, and clearest conviction, he saw most agreeable to the gospel of Christ. Leaving *Italy*, he went first to the *Grisons*, where he preached for some years in the *Valteline*; till he was called, by the Duke of *Wittenburgh*, to *Tubingen*; where he spent the remainder of his days, in doing service to that cause, which, upon the noblest motives of religion and conscience, he had so sincerely embraced, by writing and translating books to strengthen and support it.

Pole, in the work we have been considering, hath made the execution of *More* and *Fisher*, one great topic of his invective against the King. His biographer, after repeating what is said of them in the apology to the Emperor, displays his own eloquence, in illustrating the character of the one, and bemoaning the fate of the other. *Sir Tho-P. 115.*

¹ *Sleidan*, B. 21. p. 475 --- 477. *Seckendorf*, L. 3. p. 95 --- 98. And again, p. 601. *Pallavicini*, L. 6. c. 13. sect. 3. & L. 15. c. 10. sect. 13, 14. *Father Paul*, B. 2. p. 154. And *Verheiden* (p. 152) *Adamus* (p. 116) *inter vitas Theol. exte.* *Bayle* (article *Verger*) *Clarke* (p. 676) and *Fuller* (p. 288) have, all of them, given a short detail of *Verger*, in their collection of lives.

mas More, he says, was one of the greatest ornaments, if not the greatest, in every kind of various excellence, this nation has ever boasted. We do not desire to lessen the high encomiums bestowed upon either of these worthies. It is impossible to justify all *Henry's* rigorous proceedings against *More*, and his associate in affliction, the bishop of *Rochester*. There might possibly be some provocation, to us unknown, which irritated an inflammable tyrant, to prosecute with unrelenting severity, those whom he formerly held so dear to him. They were considered as the heads of the papal and imperial parties in *England*: and the King might deem it necessary to confirm his new made laws, by sacrificing to them two such eminent and respectable opponents. They were indeed hardly and cruelly dealt with. In contemplating their characters, we are heartily sorry to find any thing that can lessen their just reputation. But who can help regretting, that *More*, with all his excellent abilities, and liberal way of thinking, should condescend to be the tool of bigots; should learn to rail and revile for the honour of religion; and that all the amiable accomplishments of his younger years, should, in the latter part of his life, be lost in a narrow, superstitious turn of mind? Who could think, that the free and sprightly writer of the *Utopia*, should be

so

so much devoted to the violent churchmen of those days, as to become a persecutor, and to glory in being the plague of heretics? nay he was so carried away with his prejudices, as seriously to defend himself for them, and that too in a letter to *Erasmus*; who would not think the better of him, for indulging in himself that bitter, persecuting spirit, which is equally a disgrace to religion and humanity. We have before noted some instances of his activity in “promoting inquisitions and cruelties, scarce to be reconciled with what is said of the humanity of his nature.”² “*Ovid* has two lines which characterize, and suit him, as if they were made for him,

Cæpisti melius, quam desinis: ultima primis

Cedunt: dissimilis hic vir, & ille puer.

*Ep. ix. 23.*³

The bishop of *Rocheſter* had been much deceived in his tamperings and correspondence with the *Holy Maid of Kent*; and had thereby given *Henry* greater advantages over him, than the more cautious *Sir Thomas More*. There was no doubt, but the

¹ *Quod in epitaphio profiteor hæreticis me fuiſſe moleſtum, hoc ambitioſe feci. Nam omnino ſic illud hominum genus odi, ut illis, niſi reſipiſcant, tam inviſus eſſe velim, quam cui maxime, quippe quos indies magis atque magis experior tales, ut mundo ab illis vehementer metuam.*

Morus Erasmio. Eras. Ep. L. 27. p. 1076.

² *Carte, v. 3. p. 131.*

³ *Fortin's Erasmus, v. 1. p. 192.*

artful

artful managers of that Nun's tricks and revelations, did it with a view to foment a rebellion; and were desirous of having their infamous scheme countenanced, by some persons of real and indisputable worth. Amongst others, they imposed upon the credulous age of the well-meaning *Fisher*, whom they drew into their snare: and nothing but obstinacy, too often the attendant upon years, was the occasion of his ruin. *Cromwell* in a long letter to him, wherein he candidly proved his insufficient exculpation of himself,¹ with a tenderness and humanity which did him honour, took the trouble to inform, and the pains to persuade him to it, that any kind of submission to the King would insure his pardon.² The bishop, by not hearkening to this friendly and salutary advice, must be greatly answerable for the sad consequences that followed. But it was the folly and the vanity of the Pope, in sending him a red hat, that most of all contributed to hasten the end of that life by a violent death, which otherwise, in the course of nature, could not have held out much longer.

¹ *Burnet* hist. Ref. v. 1. p. 153, 154. *Collier* eccl. hist. v. 2. p. 97. who has given *Fisher's* defence of himself, in his letter to the house of lords, p. 87. of the same volume.

² *Burnet*, hist. Ref. v. 1. Records, p. 123.

For a proof of *Fisher's* great knowledge, we are referred to a speech he made upon the subject and *case of the supremacy*, — and ^{P. 118.} *preserved by Lord Herbert*. But if this was all the proof of his great knowledge, we should be to seek for it elsewhere. For, as it contains only some hackneyed, stale arguments, and groundless assertions, and calleth the Pope's court a kind of chancery to all other courts of justice, there is nothing worthy of notice in it. But moreover, *Lord Herbert* doth not relate it for bishop *Fisher's*, or give the least reason to think it was his. ¹ Mr. *Dod*, with more modesty than our writer, contents himself with saying, "that some ascribe this remarkable speech to bishop *Fisher*." ²

The authority of *Fuller's* church history is appealed to, for a very *circumstantial and* ^{P. 119. note.} *interesting account of the bishop's execution*.

Fuller is indeed very minute and particular in the relation he hath given of this fact. But let *Fuller* speak for himself; and declare from what quarter he had his intelligence, and how little it was to be depended upon. Having been favoured with a MS life of *Fisher*, he was willing to com-

¹ Lord *Herbert's* words are, one of the council, who much favoured the papal Authority, spake in this manner --- naming no one. p. 390.

² *Dod's* church history, p. 95.

municate

municate the contents of it to the public,
 “the rather” says he, “because I collected
 “the same out of his MS life, compiled by
 “*Richard Hall*, of *Christ-Colledge* in *Cam-*
 “*bridge*. — Only be it premised, that the
 “same *Hall* was a stiff *Roman* catholick, and
 “therefore accordingly must abatement be
 “made in his relations.”¹ “A book, (says
 “he in another place,) which when lately
 “in *manuscript*, I then more prized for the
 “*rarity*, then since it is now printed I trust
 “for the *verity* thereof.”² And when he
 cometh to his author’s tale concerning the
insults said to be offered to his body, *Fuller*
 saith, “It will hardly enter into my be-
 “lief. Besides, seeing the King vouchsafed
 “him a noble prison, and an honourable
 “death, it is improbable he would deny
 “him a necessary equipage for a plain and
 “private burial. Wherefore — I listen to the
 “*relation* as inflamed by the reporter’s *pas-*
 “*sion*.”³ The indignities, this scribler talks
 of, are mentioned by no other writer. *Pole*,
Sanders, *Gratiani*, and *Harpsfield*, who
 would have rejoiced at such a subject of re-

¹ *Fuller’s church hist.* B. 5, p. 202.

² His history of *Cambridge*, p. 99.

This MS life of *Fisher* hath been since published, and
 is that wretched romance, entitled *the life of the renowned*
John Fisher, &c. by *Thomas Bailey, D. D.* whose name
 it bears instead of *Hall* the real writer.

v. *Wood. Athen. Oxon.* 2d ed. v. i. p. 569.

³ *Fuller’s church hist.* B. 5. p. 205.

proaching *Henry* for his barbarities, being silent about them, we may venture to pronounce them absolute falsehoods.

There is nothing more contradictory to the laws of history, than to write with a prejudiced and passionate attachment to particular persons or opinions. He who industriously catches at every occasion to express private malignity and malevolence; and he who wilfully suppresses every circumstance which would give a favourable construction to the actions of those, whose persons and whose party he dislikes; may be said to write, not so much with a view to inform and convince others of the truth, as to gratify the resentment of private spleen and animosity. To enter thus into the conduct of former times, with that keenness and asperity, which can hardly be justified even in personal altercations, is not the way to cover heats, but to spread and perpetuate them.

Pt. 2d.
P. 166.

Mr. *Phillips* hath drawn the character of the unfortunate *Anne Bullen*, not with the coolness of a writer of the present times, but with a virulence, becoming only the malicious invectives of the railing *Sanders*, and the tatling *Gratiani*. Forgetting the regard due to himself and his reader, he descendeth to such base slanders, as are equally offensive to religion, to good-nature, to humanity. And what were *Anne's* peculiar

culiar offences, which, at this distance of time, could occasion such a torrent of rancorous abuse? Was she the cause of *Catherine's* divorce? was it not begun before she entertained the least suspicion of the King's regard for her? When the learned throughout *Europe*, when men of the greatest eminence at home, condemned *Henry's* marriage with his brother's widow, and wished for the dissolution of it; nay, when the Pope himself allowed it disputable by entering into the merits of it? where was the offence, or where the scandal, if a lady listened to the declarations of an honest love? What young mind could well withstand the honourable offers of a great King? Was there not another lady of high rank talked of for the King, and whom *Wolsey* had recommended to him, before *Anne Bullen* had even appeared at court? But something must be said to stigmatize the rival and successor of *Catherine*.

P. 125.
note.

The account that our biographer hath given of *this unfortunate woman*, as he calleth her, is taken, for the most part, from that trifling collector of hear-say stories, *Gratiani* bishop of *Amelia*; whose florid embellishments of the queen's execution

¹ *Clarke fidelis servi subdito infideli responsio*, p. 40
--- 46. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 84. *Heylin's hist. of queen Elizabeth*, p. 87. *Rapin*, v. 1. p. 775.

striking

striking the gay fancy of Mr. *Phillips*, he hath adopted for his reader's entertainment. But not thinking this sufficient authority, he hath ventured expressly to appeal to *Sanders*, and the bulk of our histo- P. 125.
rians, who in general, he says, agree in the note.
character he hath drawn of *Anne Bullen*. The extreme malignity of *Sanders's* disposition rendereth him an exceptionable witness: and one, who would not say it, if he could help it, makes this just and soft remark upon him, "that to fail both in truth
"and temper, is too common with him."² His evidence, as a detestable liar, is therefore positively rejected. And what say the other vouchers? *Stowe* says, "when the
"queen was arraigned within the Tower,
"she made so wise and discrete answers that
"she seemed fully to clear herself of all
"matters laid to her charge, but being
"found guilty, judgment was pronounced
"on her."³ *Godwin* making reflections upon this memorable catastrophe, as Mr. *Phillips* calls it, says, "an act of parliament against her shall not work on my belief."⁴ *Fuller* tells us, "in the sentence of divorce,

1 *Gratianus de casibus virorum illustrium. De quatuor Britanniae reginis*, p. 263.

2 *Collier*, v. 2. p. 87.

3 *Stowe*, p. 572. To the same effect Sir R. *Baker* in his chronicle, p. 283.

4 *Godwin's annals*, 1536, p. 82.

“no particular cause is specified. Sure I am,
 “there is no dashing on the credit of the
 “lady, nor any the least insinuations of in-
 “chastity in it. — Her greatest guilt was,
 “the King’s better fancying of another,
 “which made him, the next day after her
 “death, to mourn so passionately for her, in
 “the embraces of a new bride.”¹ *Hume*
 says, “Her innocence cannot reasonably be
 “called in question. — The whole tenour
 “of her conduct forbids us to ascribe to her
 “an abandoned character, such as is im-
 “plied in the King’s accusation, and had
 “she been so lost to all prudence, and sense
 “of shame, she must have exposed herself
 “to detection, and afforded her enemies
 “the clearest evidence against her.”² Lord
Herbert adds, “thus ended this queen la-
 “mented by many, both as she was de-
 “sirous to advance learned men, and as she
 “was a great alms-giver.”³ And to this
 purpose do *our historians in general* agree
 in their representations of this unfortunate
 queen’s hard fate.⁴

¹ *Fuller’s* church history, B. 5. p. 207, 208.

² *Hume’s* Tudors, v. 1. Q^{uo}. p. 202 ---- 209. and p. 248.

³ Lord *Herbert*, p. 446 --- 450.

⁴ *Heylin* Ref. history of *Elizabeth*, p. 91 ---- 95. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 133. *Collier*, v. 2. p. 116 --- 118. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 196 ---- 207. and v. 3. p. 118 ---- 120. *Echard*, v. 1. p. 685. *Rapin*, v. 1. p. 810 ---- 812. *Speed*, p. 1030 --- 1032.

From

From an impartial review of the relation which these several historians give of the fall of *Anne Bullen*, there does not appear any real foundation for the grievous crimes with which she was charged. The utmost that can fairly be alledged against her, is, that through the gaiety and openness of a youthful levity, owing in a great measure to a *French* education, she "either took
 "or permitted liberties, which gave offence
 "to an impetuous husband, who had pride
 "enough to make him the most jealous of
 "mortals, and the most furious in his jealousy. And her enemies taking notice
 "of every little indiscretion of hers, improved it to raise in the King suspicions
 "of her virtue." The greatest proof of which was, that in the presence of many, her brother presumed to whisper something in her ear, when she was in bed, which was to the slander of the issue begotten between the King and her. And this was all the proof that could be procured of this innocent queen's incest and adultery. It is no wonder, if so sudden and unexpected a fall, when a crime of such horrid guilt was objected against her, brought on, with great violence, those hysterical disorders so common to her sex : and yet, when in the most desponding state, and when most oppressed

with

with these vapours, (though she sometimes confessed some unguarded expressions, which discovered more sprightliness than discretion, but nothing of a criminal tendency) she constantly, and upon all occasions, persevered to vindicate her innocence, and her virtue.

Gratiani says, that the Queen's brother, and the other prisoners upon her account, were tortured into a confession of her crimes. But this, and many other circumstances mentioned by him, are mere fictions invented to dress up a romantic narration. *Norris*, one of these unhappy sufferers, nobly rejected the offers of life and pardon, upon the ignominious terms of accusing her; which he refused to do, as believing her in his conscience to be innocent. And though something is said to have been confessed, in hopes of pardon, by *Smeton*, to the prejudice of the queen's honour and chastity, which some of our historians have too hastily caught, and as hastily reported; yet, if we may credit *Cromwell's* letter to the King from the Tower, when he and some of the council were sent thoroughly to sift and examine the prisoners: "many things, (says he in that letter) have been

Comprehensi statim Georgius Annæ frater, reliquique, & pro magnitudine flagitii acriter torti, de se quisque est confessus, & continuo omnes merito supplicio sunt traditi.

Gratianus de cas. Vir. ill. p. 269.

" ob-

“objected, but nothing confessed, only some
 “circumstances have been acknowledged
 “by *Mark*.”¹ But what these circumstances
 were, we are still to learn; for *Smeton* was
 never confronted with her, or any use made
 of his evidence at her trial: and he (as
 well as the rest) lost his life, to procure
 some credit to the defamation.

The crowd, says Mr. Phillips, that thronged P. 124.
to the place of execution, gazed with uncon-
cern: — and so says Gratiani too. But if
this be true, then Sir William Kingston the
lieutenant of the Tower, who attended the
execution, must be mistaken: for he says
in a letter to Cromwell, giving an account
of the Queen's behaviour at her execution,
“that there were not above thirty stran-
gers; and not many others.” And this
was Sir William's advice, who thought
that a reasonable number was best, as he
found, she would declare herself to be a
good woman, for all men, but for the King
*at the hour of death.”*² *Mr. Strype, from*
some original letters of Sir William Kingston,
“has been enabled to represent matters con-
cerning this queen in her afflictions more
“largely, exactly and distinctly,” than most
other writers: and to whom we refer, that

¹ *Heylin Ref. hist. of Eliz. p. 92.*
² *Ibid. p. 93. Burnet, v. 1. p. 204. Strype's mem.*
v. 1. p. 280. Herbert, p. 449.

we swell not this article to any unnecessary length, by dwelling farther upon it.

The bishop of *Meaux*, whose least fault it is to misrepresent his authorities, has, in recording this event, exhibited a genuine picture of catholic bigotry. He says, "the unfortunate *Anne Bullen*, hoped to soften the King, by confessing every thing, he would have her, but this confession saved her only from being burnt;" referring his reader to bishop *Burnet* for his voucher, as if it was taken from him, and his words used. Whereas *Burnet's* own words are these, that the Queen, "had either some hopes of life given her, or was wrought upon by the assurances of mitigating that cruel part of her judgment, of being burnt, into the milder part of the sentence, of having her head cut off; so that she confessed," (not every thing the King would have her, for she never would acknowledge any guilt, but only,) "a pre-contract." ² *Bossuet* goes on: "she comforted herself upon the day of execution, when she heard the executioner was an expert one, but I, addeth she, have got a very little neck. At the same time, says the witness of her death, she put her hands round it, and laughed

¹ *Strype's* memorials, v. i. p. 280 ---- 284.

² *Burnet*, Ref. v. i p. 203.

“very heartily.” Upon which this *French* bishop makes this candid and christian remark, “now whether, says he, this was
 “done through the ostentation of an affected intrepidity, or that her head was
 “turned at the approaches of death; however this be, it seems, as if God would
 “have it, that dreadful as the end of this Princess was, it should have a mixture in
 “it of the ridiculous, as well as of the tragic.”¹ The place referred to is a passage in Sir *William Kingston’s* letter to *Cromwell*, which *Burnet* has inserted in his history.² The bishop of *Meaux*, like a true controversialist, stoppeth short in the middle of the letter, to give vent to his presumptuous judgment, and wilfully to keep his readers in ignorance of what immediately follows. For thus does Sir *William* go on, “I have
 “seen many men, and also women executed; and that they have been in great
 “sorrow, and to my knowledge this lady has much joy and pleasure in death.” But why did the bishop stop so soon, and not add this? for obvious reasons enough: that none of his persuasion might have any favourable opinion of her innocence, or her piety. To prevent this, he

¹ *Bossuet Histoire des variations des Eglises protestantes*, v. 1. p. 298.

² *Burnet*, Ref. v. 1. p. 204.

artfully diverts them; and by a grave reflection, looking upon laughter as vain, and inconsistent with her condition, he will not let her ashes rest in peace, without adding scorn to cruelty; not aware, that injured innocence, at the conclusion of afflictions, may well be chearful. How else will he defend Sir *Thomas More's* behaviour; whose facetiousness attended him to the scaffold, where he joked upon the loyalty of his beard.

P. 123. Mr. *Phillips* to reproach this Queen, informeth us, *she had imbibed the doctrine of Calvin.* If so, it must be either by intuition or inspiration: for that reformer was, at the time of her execution, a very young man, and hardly known. But she soon left him, it seems, for the more comfortable doctrine of *Luther*, who *licensed polygamy.*² But *Anne* did not want his licence:

1 *Anne Bullen* was born in 1507. *John Calvin* in 1509. the first systematical book he published in divinity was his *Institutions*, which were first printed, either in 1534, or 1535: so that she could not well have been his disciple, and left him for the more *commodious* doctrine of *Luther*. If Mr. *Phillips* meant any reflection, he might better have said, she was first a disciple of *Zuinglius*, and deserted him for *Luther*, as they were cotemporary reformers.

2 This is that triumphant objection, so often urged by the enemies of *Luther*, his *licensing polygamy in favour of the Landgrave of Hesse.* But it is an objection, not so much against the doctrine of the reformation, as against the private opinion of *Luther*, in a case of conscience

for he, to whom *the lawgiver of Christianity* P. 116. had committed his authority, had by private advice proposed the same for the King, to his agent *Cassali*, as before mentioned.¹ In the charge of incest imputed to the Queen, our author's conscience hath recoiled a little, not at repeating the base calumny, but, for *not wording it more cor-* Errat. before 2d part, p. x.
rectly. But when he was in so good a mood, he might as well have made the same apology for the bishop of *Amelia*, for the sentence is translated from him:² and

science put to him. It is an intricate affair, and would swell this note to too great a length, to attempt to state it clearly. *Variilas*, and some other writers of his side, but especially *Bossuet* (in his *Histoire des Variations*, &c. V. 1. B. 6. p. 220, &c. and the records at the end of it, p. 251, &c.) have arraigned it with the severest censures. In reply to these, *Seckendorf* hath related a minute, and ample history of this whole affair, and also what *Luther's* cool reflections were upon it; enough to shew, that there was something extremely singular in the case. *Hist. Luth. L. 3. p. 277, &c.* *Thuanus* has thrown some light upon this extraordinary matter, by relating a memorable circumstance, that when the Landgrave was dead, *inspecto a medicis corpore, Triorches repertus.* *Thuan. L. 41. A.D. 1567.* We do not think ourselves obliged to justify *Luther* in this matter. He had his reasons no doubt: and if they are not sufficient to excuse him, *his behaviour, in this particular, --- must be placed amongst those weaknesses which have too great a mixture of humanity, not to admit of great alleviation.* P. 151.

¹ See p. 71, 72, 79, and the note p. 79, 80.

² The bishop of *Amelia's* expressions are full as exceptionable as Mr. *Phillips's.* *Frater (Annæ sc.) Georgius validus juvenis --- hunc rata, (Anna sc.) gignendæ*

if the bishop did not scruple to speak out, the priest needed not to have been so squeamish, when without remorse he could speak evil of his neighbour, and transgress the first great law of christianity.

P. 124.

*Henry's love letters to Anne Bullen, which are still preserved in the Vatican library, make another charge against her. But as these letters have been printed in England, we need not be sent quite so far as Rome, for a sight of these curious remains of Henry's love.*¹ *Burnet*, who saw, and got them copied, has given a just description of them.² That there are some coarse and rather indecent expressions in them, cannot be denied: but the times were unpolite; and *Henry* had not much delicacy in his constitution: yet they fully shew, that the King went all along upon honourable motives; and in some of them, there appears a regard to decency and religion. — But had they been ever so bad, or as bad as Mr. *Phil-*

soboli accommodatum: and he had just before said, the Queen thought *Henry, parum gignendis maribus aptum.*
P. 268.

¹ There are seventeen of these in all; and published, I suppose from bishop *Burnet's* copy, in the year 1714, with this title, Love-Letters from King *Henry* the 8th to *Anne Boleyn*. Some of them are inserted by Mr. *Grove* in his life of cardinal *Walsley*, towards the end of the 4th volume. There is likewise a manuscript copy of them in the *Bodleian* library.

² *Burnet*, Ref. v. 3. p. 41.

lips

lips would make them, what is this to *Anne Bullen*? could she help the roughness, or the wantonness, of her admirer? She is not to answer for his offences: it would make against her indeed, if any of her letters could be produced, encouraging *an impure flame*. She seemeth to have behaved with a proper reserved modesty; and the King, in one of his letters, complaineth, “that
 “though he had been above a whole year
 “struck with the dart of love, yet, says he,
 “I am not sure whether I shall fail or find a
 “place in your heart or affection.” What can Mr. *Phillips* blame here? not the lady’s conduct certainly. Why then did he, for want of better matter, enviously load her with the slips of her lover’s unpoliteness, by insinuating, that her *qualities were unfit* P. 124.
to raise a purer flame? But every thing that could tend to lessen her good name, must industriously be collected. So she can any way be maligned, our author has his end.

Some of our writers have admired the pathetick eloquence of the letter the Queen wrote to the King, when she was a prisoner in the *Tower*. Mr. *Phillips* grudges her P. 125.
 even this little praise, and tries to deprive note.
 her of it. Lord *Herbert*, it is true, does not aver it to be genuine; but yet says,

1 Letter the 4th, p. 9.

what

what is here omitted, "that it came to his
 "hand, from more than one good part."¹
 As it was found among *Cromwell's* papers,
 this is no small presumption it was truly
 hers. The letter itself speaks so strongly
 the natural language of an heart surrounded
 with distresses, feeling their poignancy, but
 triumphing over them, with such a con-
 scious spirit of truth, and duty to the King,
 that it could hardly be counterfeited by any,
 who did not actually feel the acute and de-
 licate sensations, of love, disappointment,
 and calamity. If the King himself could
 be any judge, where the heart of the Queen
 was affected, her language and sentiments
 were animated: for *Henry*, in one of his
 letters, compliments his mistress, "upon
 "the fine thoughts of her letter so cordially
 "expressed."²

P. 125.
 note.

Mr. *Phillips*, not satisfied with her con-
 viction and execution, would persuade us,
 she died with a lie in her mouth. How so?
 did she confess any guilt? No, not that.
 She had so little regard to veracity, as to
 declare *on the scaffold, that there never was*
a gentler and more merciful Prince than
Henry. Shall this be objected against her?
 Does Mr. *Phillips's* religion teach him, that
 forgiveness of injuries is inconsistent with

¹ *Herbert*, p. 446.

² Letter 5. p. 12.

suffer-

suffering innocence? The Queen had said enough at her trial to clear herself: and tho' she now experienced *the King's cruel and unrelenting temper*, yet how amiable did her virtue, or rather her christianity appear, in so totally subduing that indignation, which, if listened to, would only have disturbed the serenity of her end. She shewed how much she had profited by afflictions; and exerted the highest instance of that gospel spirit of love (which Mr. *Phillips*, by finding fault with, seems to have no notion of) by praying for him, whose fury and whose jealousy was the sole cause of her death.

Thus have I endeavoured to do some little justice to this greatly injured Queen's memory. We have consulted, with others, the historians Mr. *Phillips* has cited; and which, if he had inspected himself, he must know, that though they ingenuously relate the motives of the King's suspicions, and all that can be said against her; yet do they give as strong conviction of her hard and cruel fate, as facts can speak, or words express. To aggravate the one, and entirely to omit the other, is such a flagrant proof of partiality and prejudice, of barbarity and injustice, as cannot but excite the detestation and contempt of every friend to candour and to truth. But when they tell us, *her fate was considered not merely as a punishment,*

nishment, but as a divine judgment; we shall content ourselves with this reply to such presumptuous (if not profane) interpreters of the providence of God, by answering them in their own way, that we cannot help thinking, that the divine goodness recompensed the unjust calamities of the mother, by the long, the prosperous, and the glorious reign of her daughter *Elizabeth*.

The tender and candid manner in which our historians have spoken of the equally virtuous and unfortunate *Catherine*, may shame others in their rancorous spleen against her successor in the King's affections. They both of them felt the indignation of a violent and impetuous husband; and tho' of different natural dispositions, the one rigid and austere, the other gay and sprightly; yet were they both made the victims of their husband's real or pretended scruples, and that, not through any immediate crime or fault of their own, but by being unhappily connected with an arbitrary and jealous Prince, whose will was too often his subjects law.

After this long digression concerning *Pole's* work on *the church unity*, and those *English* matters we have been considering, we are called again to return to the more immediate subject of the history before us. In obedience to the commands of the Pope, *Pole* was now arrived at *Rome*, and lodged in

in his Holiness's palace. Our biographer, from his informant *Quirini*,¹ relates the occasion of his particular call to that place; which was, with some other commissioners, *to effect a reform of manners. A plan* P. 139.
of reformation was accordingly drawn up. P. 140.

But all these good endeavours of *Pole*, and his associates, were at once rendered ineffectual: his Holiness himself put his negative upon them. *The temper of the times, it is said, seemed ill suited to the change* P. 139.
which was projected: and no use at all was made of the plan. It answered the Pope's end indeed: the very plea of a council of reformation, would serve to amuse the *German*s; and stave off, that dreaded evil to the court of *Rome*, the calling of a general council.

But had these commissioners proceeded in the execution of their plan, it would have signified but little: for they would not acknowledge any thing to be faulty in doctrine; only were willing to reform something in discipline, and in the administration of ecclesiastical matters and persons.² So that no good could have accrued to the christian state, from the *pursuit of a plan*

¹ *Quirini*, vi. cap. ult. p. 366 --- 371.
² *Sleidan*, B. 12. p. 233, &c. and *Herbert*, p. 490. who says the same, and whose authority is imperfectly cited by Mr. *Phillips*.

only calculated to *reform* a small part of the evils complained of: for the corruptions of Faith and doctrine were as flagrant and notorious, as those of morals and discipline.

P. 141. To comfort *Pole*, and his partners in this work, that their labours might not be thrown away; amongst others, whom he rewarded in the same way, the Pope thought fit to promote *Reginald to the purple*. A step which exasperated his sovereign beyond measure, offended his friends in *England*, and proved the ruin of his family. All this he foresaw plainly: but the Emperor and the Pope, for political reasons, would not allow him to refuse this dignity; but forced it upon him, with a view to prevent any prospect of a reconciliation between him and his friends in *England*.

1 *Strype's Mem.* v. i. p. 298, 299.

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON SECTION THE THIRD.

POLE being now a member, in Mr. P's language, of the *senate of the universal church*, which has been considered as *the common council of the christian world*; his biographer has kindly entertained his countrymen, with a pompous account of the *origin and institution* of the cardinalate, in hopes of removing those prejudices, which *the causeless spleen of a mere English reader is apt to conceive at the very name of cardinal*. We are greatly obliged to Mr. P. for this extraordinary condescension: though it be rather too late to tell us, by way of information, that this order of *the purple* was founded to support the pride and pomp of the court of *Rome*. In former days, the chief priests of larger parishes were distinguished by this appellation, though with a different meaning. They were then looked upon as inferior to prelates: and the title

title was dropped, when the mitre was assumed. In later days, when the temporal power of the See of *Rome* was enlarged, an additional degree of honour and dignity was annexed to the council of the Pope: and the *archi-presbyteri* of the primitive bishops, were intended to be revived by the institution of the *cardinales presbyteri*, tho' with much higher powers: for the latter were soon considered as assessors to his Holiness at *Rome*; who afterwards, by bestowing this title upon bishops and other great men, whilst he augmented his own authority, by such powerful associates, he gratified their ambition by the gaudy decorations of privilege and precedence.

P. 148. By the weight of their influence, it easily overshadowed the episcopal dignity: the *jus divinum* of which was forced to submit to the *jus humanum* of the cardinal; who, holding the highest rank in the catholic church, was considered as a being of a superior nature. So much less honour was paid to that order, which Christ himself, or his apostles, were supposed to have instituted,

P. 147. than to that which his vicegerent, through the expediency of a change in some points of primitive discipline, established for the dispatch of a multiplicity of temporal affairs. By one degree of art and another, this powerful body became alone concerned in the election of the bishop of the capital of the christian

christian world, and thereby of giving a su- P. 145.
 preme head to the church. The present num-
 ber of *this sacred college* was fixed by Six-
 tus the 5th, for this wise reason, that as
 he represented Jesus Christ, they (the car-
 dinals) should represent his disciples. As
 they have had amongst their list *the bro-* P. 148.
thers and sons of the greatest potentates; —
as they have frequently guided the councils of
different states, and been concerned in im-
portant negotiations: we are not to wonder,
 if the worldly wisdom and rapacity of the
 politician, hath sometimes got the better
 of the self-denying humility of the eccle-
 siastic; which occasioned a wicked wag
 humourously to define a cardinal, to be *ani-*
mal rubrum, callidum, & rapax; capax &
*vorax omnium beneficiorum.*¹ Thus can we
 heretics divert ourselves; and, *turning our* P. 149.
minds from sounds to things, be much better
 pleased to hear of *the flowing ease and shape,* P. 148.
and scarlet colour of the robes, at a distance;
 than to see them parade in triumph amongst
 us, and bask as formerly, in the enjoyment
 of a glorious plurality of bishoprics and be-
 nefices.²

¹ Guy Patin, v. *Fortin's Erasmus*, v. i. p. 564.

² See more about cardinals, in *Farneworth's Prolegomena* to the life of Pope Sixtus 5. N^o. 5. p. iv. *Bingham's antiquities*, B. 2. c. 19. sect. 18, p. 82. and the history of the cardinals, Part 1. Book third, throughout.

P. 151.

Paul the 3d conferring this honour of the red hat upon *Pole*, his biographer, willing to return the obligation, thinks himself equally bound with *Quirini*,^{*} to vindicate also the patron of his hero. *It has been objected*, he saith, against *Paul*, that he conferred the purple on some of his own family, at an age which seems immature for that dignity: but if the care he took of their education, and his hopes of them, be taken into the account, his behaviour, in this particular, will either not appear unbecoming the other parts of his conduct, or must be placed amongst those weaknesses which have too great a mixture of humanity, not to admit of great alleviation. In so tender a manner, does this good and charitable Mr. *P.* who does not spare his cruelest reproaches

¹ Cardinal *Quirini*, fond of taking every opportunity of extolling *Paul* the 3d, for the worthies whom he honoured with the purple, is for ever enlarging upon his Holiness's praises. But in one place his boldness is consummate, and exceeds every thing, when he ascribes the Pope's choice of cardinals, and their acceptance of that dignity, to the influence of the Holy Ghost: for speaking of *Pole's* letters to *Contareni*, he says, *ex iis constare annotavimus, Paulum III. Pontif. max. Spiritu sancto duce ad evehendos cardinales procedere consuevisse, præterea cardinales delatam sibi dignitatem non nisi ejusdem spiritus impulsu accepisse.*

V. 2. *Diat.* sect. 1. p. LV. See also, v. 1. *Præf. Ep. Schelhorn cum anim.* p. LXXVII. & *Diat.* p. 376. And again (besides the whole first section of the second volume) v. 3. *Præf.* p. 40.

upon

upon the least slip of any of the reformed party, palliate the avowed wickedness of a wanton debauchee. The two young cardinals, here hinted at, were his own grandsons, by two of his bastards; one of whom at 14, the other at 16 years of age, he admitted into the *sacred college*: and shewed P. 151. (by this action) a caution and sagacity in the choice he made of those, who were to compose the supreme council of the church, worthy the chief magistracy he bore in it. So sensible was his Holiness, that the sacred P. 141. college should be composed of persons whose examples might recall the ancient splendour of the priesthood. This was the method the supreme head of the church took, to acquaint the world with his earnest resolution to pursue that plan of reformation, which he himself had publickly given out should be effected, and which was loudly P. 150. called for on all sides. Well therefore might father Paul say, speaking of the creation of these young cardinals, “the hope of re-
 “forming the cardinals, and the fear of
 “some of them vanished immediately, be-
 “cause it did not appear how it could be-
 “gin, but from the age, and lawful birth
 “of those who were to be created cardi-
 “nals”¹

¹ Council of Trent, B. I. p. 73.

Whilst

Whilst cardinal *Pole* is engaged in receiving the compliments of his friends upon his new dignity, Mr. *P.* steps aside to favour us with his character of two extraordinary persons, friends of the new made cardinal, *Hosius* and *Erasmus*. The former, tho' a cardinal, and a legate afterwards at the council of *Trent*, is now but little known: though I remember to have read somewhere, of his performing something like a miracle to confound heresy. It seems an acquaintance of his, who had been dipping in some heretical books, fell ill of a violent fever. *Hosius*, who looked upon it as a judgment for his presumption, made him sensible, that such wicked indulgence was the cause of his illness; and with great zeal threw the book into the fire, in order to cure his friend. No sooner was this prescription tried, than it succeeded. Whilst the book was burning, the fever abated. When the operation was over, the patient found himself quite well: his fever and his heresy, to the great triumph of *Hosius's* faith, left him at the same time. Such an extraordinary exertion of faith and power, could not but pave the way for the honours he afterwards obtained. As his writings were all of them upon controversial subjects, the good catholics might well style him a pillar of the church: but that, those of a different persuasion should honour him with

with encomiums still more pompous may reasonably be questioned; seeing we find him reckoned, by some of the writers of those times, amongst the lowest and basest slanderers of *Luther's* memory.¹ And the subjects he wrote upon, were not of that kind, as would leave any favourable impression of his candour or moderation, though his abilities might be readily acknowledged.²

From the heightening representation Mr. *P.* hath made of the character of *Hofius*, he is willing, we should see, he can excell in satire, as well as panegyric. He proceeds therefore *to that celebrated name, E-P. 155. rasmus*; whose character is introduced here, with no other design, but to express the utmost malevolence against his memory, by indulging himself in all the petulant censures of the lowest bigots of his communion.

Mr. *P.*, who thinks it no sin to calumniate, begins his account of *Erasmus*, by abusing his country. He was *born*, he says, *in a climate as little framed for ripening P. 157. minds as improving morals*. National reflections are, for the most part, false; but are ever base, and what a true scholar would

¹ *Jewell's* reply to *Harding*, p. 2. who frequently nameth him, and ever ranks him with *Eccius*, *Pighius*, and such sort. *Humfredi vita Juelli*, p. 262. and *Charke's* answer to *Parsons*, p. 240.

² *Dupin eccles. hist.* 16 century, 2^d p^t. B. 5. p. 114.

disdain to make. At the time of the reformation, the sharpness of a true persecuting spirit was first felt in the low-countries; two monks being burnt there for *Lutheranism*, so early as 1523: where for some years the same rational method of conviction was frequently tried, and with the same effect.¹ Neither were the heroes, who struggled with such resolution and fortitude for the civil liberties of this oppressed country, more memorable, than those extraordinary persons, who, by their uncommon abilities, furnished such succours to *Europe* for the advancement of literature, and made *Holland* the *Asylum* of letters.² The celebrated names of *Scaliger*, *Salmasius*, *Grotius* and many others, before, and since their time, would reflect honour upon any country; and abundantly refute this idle, impotent attempt to defame it, as *be-*

¹ *G. Brandt's* hist. of the Ref. in the low countries. B. 1. from *A. D.* 1523 to 1534: and his account of *Gnapheus's* persecutions. The strongest proof of whose heterodoxy, and what raised a storm against him, was, a pregnant woman, who had a longing, put a sausage, in *Lent* time, into the pot wherein he used to boil his peas. "That affair took up the judges during two days: the physicians were sent for, and asked whether it was possible, that a woman with child should long for meat in *Lent*?" after having debated that question, the judges passed sentence, that *Gnapheus*, should be apprehended dead or alive, where ever he should be found." *Brandt's* hist. &c. abridged, v. 1. p. 28.

² *Fortin's Erasmus*, v. 1. p. 15, 16.

ing a climate as little framed for ripening minds, as improving morals.

Our author does indeed acknowledge the erudition and abilities of *Erasmus*: and *the* P. 158.
view of him, as a scholar, is declared to be *luminous*. But surely, if his excellency in this respect be admitted, why could not that same discernment and understanding, which enabled him to make such real improvements in literary knowledge, enable him also to make some advances in theological learning; for the same defects were observable in each, and that ignorance and stupidity *which disgraced the schools*, disgraced the church also? *Erasmus* saw and lamented this; and did his best to reform them both. It was this commendable undertaking, which first raised the fury of the bigots of his own times: and the shameful clamour is still continued. But how comes the *view of his character, as a Christian*, in our author's phrase, not to be equally *luminous*? We are told, *there was scarce any* P. 159.
error advanced against the religion he professed, nay almost, against christianity itself, which he has not revived.

It was *Erasmus's* hard fate to be wilfully misunderstood in his life time: and it hath been his hard fate since, to have these misrepresentations repeated, and with equal effrontery; and the calumny not drawn from any intimate converse with his wri-

tings, but derived from a secondary degree of knowledge, from the aspersions of prejudiced enemies. A bitter charge is here brought against a man, to whom Religion and Learning is greatly indebted: and how is it supported? by no other proofs, than bold, presumptuous affirmations. That *Erasmus*, from some set of men, should meet with bad treatment, is not astonishing. He, whose belief is confined to narrow systems, and, what he is pleased to term, the *consent of the church*, cannot but look with an evil eye, upon every attempt to call men from sounds to things, as dissenting from the spirit of the catholic church, and betraying a mind totally warped from her rule of rectitude. Sounding words fortunately prove nothing. As the standard of orthodoxy is not the same in all communions, we have a right to expect somewhat less arrogance, and more reasoning, and clear evidence, when a good man's reputation is at stake, and *prophaness* and *impiety* are boldly, and in the strongest manner, objected against him.

The writers of the life of the precious founder of the order of the jesuits, have recorded, that that spiritual *Quixot* could not relish the works of *Erasmus*. He found in that elegant book of the *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, none of the *unction* so relishing in some books of devotion, and so necessary

sary to keep up the heat of the true enthusiast. "A judgment this, says *Dr. Fortin*, worthy of him; and every fanatic, like him, would want something more pathetic and savoury, something with more *unction*, and less morality and common sense." Whether Mr. P. belongs to that society or no, signifies nothing: we apprehend however, he knows as little of *Erasmus*, and is as much a stranger to his writings, as if he, as well as *Loyola's* disciples, had been forbid to read them; for he has accused him of maintaining some principles, which the general tenor of his writings do evidently contradict.

The great object that *Erasmus* seems to have in view in his religious treatises, is, by manly and sensible argumentation, to inculcate the true nature and end of devotion; and to demonstrate, that it does not so much consist, in a form of words, in ridiculous ceremonies, or a round of external duties, as in the inward affection and disposition of the heart. Though this was fixing religion upon its true basis, it is inconceivable, how greatly it exasperated the zealots of the church of *Rome*. By exposing the folly of their artificial incitements to devotion, they were sensible, that his writings, if attended to, would rob them

of their profit, and hurt their influence.

Hinc illæ lacrymæ!

P. 159. By this craft they had their gain : and it was natural for them, to raise an outcry against the bold disturber of their ease and power. A man of superiour endowments, could not but abhor the superstitious fooleries, that had crept in by degrees into the religious offices of the church ; where genuine devotion was lost in shew and foppery, and the *divine plan of belief and practice* was almost totally obliterated, by a rigorous and servile attention to the externals of bodily worship.

Seeing this lamentable decay of true piety, *Erasmus*, who had a keen pen, could not help lashing the ignorance, and the vices of the ecclesiastics : and he hoped, that what was wanting in authority, would be compensated by the weight of his arguments ; and that to laugh at a fool, or a blockhead, would, if not reform him, at least inform others. Christianity therefore, as well as learning, owes a great deal to his memory, for his noble endeavours to draw men, from resting in the circumstantials, to attend to the fundamentals of religion. In this light he appears to great advantage, the foe to cant and hypocrisy, the friend to manly and rational piety. But great justice having lately been done to the
memory

memory and character of *Erasmus*, in an impartial and admirable performance, we refer the reader to Dr. *Jortin's* life of this extraordinary personage, as deeming it rather a more correct criterion to judge of his merits, than Mr. *P's* motly description; as it is drawn from a masterly knowledge of the history of that age, and the writings of *Erasmus* himself. P. 158. P. 159.

We have reason to think, that Mr. *P.* is almost as much a stranger to the works of *Erasmus*, as we have shewed him to be to those of *Luther*. This will appear, by examining the several particulars of his opprobrious accusations against him. His first charge is, *the outrageous flights of impiety, — against the devotion paid to the mother of our redeemer.* His references, in support of this assertion, are the dialogue

In that epistle of *Erasmus* to *Luther*, which our author, by referring to, whilst he is drawing *Erasmus's* picture, would make us believe, he hath read, there is something said, which if one, of whose worth and abilities, Mr. *P.* hath the highest opinion, had properly attended to, he might have profited by. In that letter, *Erasmus* tells *Luther*, what good advice he had given the gentry of *Louvain*, that reformer's teizing adversaries, *Tantum admonui* (says he,) *ne libris tuis nondum lectis, ad populum tam odiose vociferarentur* But this kindness was thrown away, for he adds, *nihil profectum est: huc usque insaniunt obliquis imo famosis suis disputationibus.* *Erasmus*, as well as *Luther*, has suffered plentifully by the retailing collectors of party prejudice.

Pere-

Peregrin. Rel. ergò, and a note in his commentary on the first chapter of St. Luke's gospel. In this dialogue, *Erasmus* with a severity, and sneer, which true piety will justify, laugheth at the abominable folly and superstition of those absurd enthusiasts, who tramped from one country to another, to perform imaginary devotions to imaginary saints, in places sanctified by fraud and knavery to the purposes of religious delusion. To give a keener edge to his satire, he hath recourse to a pious trick often played by the monks; pleasantly feigning a letter supposed to be written by a famous stone image of the Virgin *Mary* in the neighbourhood of *Basil*, and gravely told by a zealous pilgrim, relating his rambles to different temples, in distant kingdoms, consecrated to her honour, and to that of other saints. With an indignation becoming one, who had the interest of truth and religion seriously at heart, he exposed the absurdity of this spiritual Quixotism, in thus running to every place and image, reputed to be endued with a wonder-working power, to the disgrace of religion, and the total neglect of social and domestic duties. His general aim in this, and indeed in all the colloquies, was “to cure the bigotted world, “if he could, of that superstitious devotion, which the monks inculcated more
“sedu-

“duly than true christian piety.”¹ If Mr. P. will look into that part of *Erasmus's* reply to the *Spanish* monks, wherein he vindicates himself from the imputation of lessening the Virgin *Mary's* honour,² besides what is said in many passages of his other books, he will see, that that great man had a due respect and veneration for her; and that, what he treated with such contempt, was, not the honour due to the blessed Virgin, but the prophane and nauseous application made to her intercession.

The offensive part of the comment upon the first chapter of St. *Luke's* gospel, I take to be these following words, *sacram virginem duplici nomine fuisse turbatam, & quod videret juvenem ingredientem, & quod audiret salutationem amatoriam, & nescio quid procorum præ se ferentem*, following herein chiefly, as he says himself, the comment of St. *Ambrose*. As we are referred for this shameful passage to *Erasmus's answer to P. 150. Lee*; so do we likewise appeal to the same^{note.} reply, for his defence and apology.³

We are next told, that his *six reasons P. 159.* against the custom of having recourse to her intercession, at the beginning of sermons, are all of them weak, and most of them false and

¹ *Fortin's Erasmus*, v. i. p. 296.

² *Erasmi Opp.* v. 9. *Basil.* ed. p. 884. *De honore B. V. M.*

³ *Eras. Opp.* ed. *Basil.* v. 9. p. 128 ---- 130.

profane: referring us, but without condescending to name edition, page, or book, to the *Ecclesiastes*. By this general reference to a large work, we shrewdly suspect, Mr. P. does not speak this of his own knowledge. Had he taken the pains to consult the book itself, he would have found it a very difficult task, to make them half as many as *six*: and the reasons which *Erasmus* doth assign, are neither weak, nor false, nor profane. They occur in the second book, where he says, this custom of thus invoking of the B.V. M. is, 1. Without the authority of S.S. and 2. Against the example of all antiquity: adding moreover, but not as different reasons, only as illustrations of the former two, that such a practice is often impertinently, often falsely applied; concluding in these words, *sed quid opus est, præter S.S. auctoritatem, præter veterum patrum exemplum, consuetudinem inducere quæ egeat excusatione.*

P. 159. In consequence of these principles, our author tells us, that he informs one of his acquaintance, that though he had wrote some things to the honour of the blessed Virgin, it was against his will. Pretty extraordinary! if he could mean either of the treatises above mentioned: for this letter to *Colet* was

1. *Ecclesiastes*, L. 2. p. 258, 259. ed. *Basil.* 12°. 1544.

writ-

written many years before either his *Colloquies*, or his *Ecclesiastes*, were published.¹ But anachronisms are nothing with Mr. P: who, if he had been conversant with *Erasmus's* works, would have put a more candid interpretation upon his not relishing the *Pæan* or hymn to the Virgin *Mary*. It is not, in the letter referred to, expressed in the strong manner represented by Mr. P. and the reason of his disliking it, was not so much for the subject matter, as the style of it. It was composed to oblige the marchioness of *Vere*, and written *stylo juvenili, & ad illius affectum accommodato, potius quam ad meum judicium*; as he informed his friend *Botzem*, when he gave him an account of his writings, in the letter prefixed to the *Basil* edition of his works. “It is indeed
 “a puerile performance, in a poetical, tumid, idolatrous style.”² This was reason enough, for his cool and maturer judgment to dislike it: and though he could not but, as a christian, deem the *mother of our Redeemer*, *blest above women*; yet he could P. 159.
 not in his heart approve, of that unwarranted incense offered up to her, in de-

¹ This letter to *Colet* was written in 1504.

The *Colloquies* were published in 1522.

The *Ecclesiastes* was published in 1535.

² *Fortin's Erasmus*, v. 2. p. 200. *Erasmus's* letter to *Botzem* is also in this 2d vol. of *Dr. Fortin*, p. 415.

spight,

spight, as it was, of her son's sole mediation.

P. 160.

The commendations bestowed upon Luther's writings, make another charge against Erasmus. The letter here found fault with, is a civil and courteous one, in reply to an excellent one from Luther; in which he speaks very respectfully of that reformer, and his doctrine. He gives him indeed a little caution against too much vehemency; not that Luther had then shewn any thing of that spirit, or that Erasmus suspected it; only he was afraid, the warmth of controversy might irritate each party to some excesses. As to Luther himself, this was but the beginning of his preaching, in 1519, when he had hitherto distinguished himself, only by opposing the sale and traffic of indulgences: and therefore the encouragement of, hæc non admoneo ut facias, sed ut quod facis perpetuo facias, might, without offence, be applied to Luther, whose letter to him was full of the greatest modesty and humility; and who, at that time, proceeded with

P. 160.
note.

I Luther's letter to Erasmus, & Eras. ep. p. 243, and Erasmus's reply, p. 244.

When Mr. P. talks of Erasmus's praising Luther and his writings, he forgets how much he differs in that opinion from his great friend Quirini. For he says *Sexcenta sunt in Erasmi epistolis, aliisque ejus lucubrationibus loca, quibus reformationem a Luthero, aliisque ejus sodalibus, seu discipulis procreatam irridet, atque execratur.*

Quirini, v. 2. Diat. p. CLXXIII.

great

great fear and diffidence. He tells him, *he had perused his commentaries on the Psalms, liked them much, and hoped they would prove useful.* Mr. P, willing to shew his learning, kindly tells his reader, with a sneer, *what equally orthodox and edifying doctrines these commentaries contain.* And has he read any of this heresiarch's writing? or is this only, as usual, a random charge? Had *Erasmus* found any of these heretical doctrines in the commentaries he praised, he must have been almost as sharp-sighted as Mr. P. *Luther*, when this letter was written, was no heretic: neither did he then, or for some years after, hold or teach the doctrines here ascribed to him; and some of them he never was so absurd to maintain. All the commentaries he had then published were two harmless ones, the one upon the seven penitential, the other upon the 110th, Psalms.* And these commenta-

P. 160.

note.

* In 1517 *Luther* had published a comment on the seven penitential Psalms, in German, which *Seckendorf* thus characterizes, *etsi vero annis sequentibus majori luce & spiritu materiam Psalmorum horum tractavit, insignia tamen orthodoxæ theologiæ, & eruditæ paraphraseos documenta eum jam tum dedisse, lectores facile deprehendent.* Of the other comment upon the 110th Psalm, he thus speaks, *in hac acerbe invehitur in Picardos seu Bohemos, qui ex ecclesia Romana ob vitia sacerdotum secesserint, eosque pro hæreticis & blasphemis habet. Et, ad v. 4. sacerdotium Melchizedeci æternum ad sacramentum cænæ applicat.*

Seckendorf Index. 3. scriptorum Lutheri. I am aware, that

ries contained nothing, that could offend the most orthodox catholic.

P. 160.

But *Erasmus* preferred the marriage state to celibacy, and set forth its privileges with such indecency, that a Cynic could not have other ideas, nor cloath them in coarser terms. Mr. P's ideas of purity must be extremely delicate indeed, to censure, in so unfair a manner, that juvenile declamation in praise of matrimony, addressed by *Erasmus* to his pupil Lord Mountjoy: and if by giving a right turn to the youthful passions of that nobleman, he encouraged him to enter into that state which is honourable in all men, what serious man could refuse to praise him for it? But it seems he preferred it to celibacy. And who should not? but he did not prefer it to virginity. As he knew the flagrant lewdnesses committed by many, who were under the vows of constrained celibacy, it was a commendable act of piety to expose the absurd rigour of such vows; and to call men from indulging in that tur-

that there is in *Luther's* works (3^d vol. *Witt.* ed.) a comment or lectures on the the first 22 Psalms, with a dedication to the elector of *Saxony*, and a recommendatory epistle of *Melanchton* both dated the beginning of 1519. But as these lectures were only begun in the month of *March* that year, and continued that and the 2 following years, and were not published till 1524; it may well be doubted, whether *Erasmus* could see them so early as in *May* 1519. See *Seckendorf*, L. 1. p. 94. and p. 134.

pitude

pititude of behaviour, which it was a shame to speak of; and to admonish them to restrain those desires by the purity of a chaste marriage, against those deep divines and sound casuists, who held *simple fornication to be no sin*. This raised the outcry of the zealots against him; and obliged him to take more notice of their pitiful objections than they deserved, by honouring some of them with a reply. This defence of *Erasmus* against his minute adversaries, Mr. P, with his usual partiality, entirely omit-
teth.

Our biographer, persevering in his abuse P. 160. on poor *Erasmus*, *though a priest*, he says, *and advanced in years*, he relates his gallantries in England, in a style more becoming the stews than the monastery. We have here a fresh instance of Mr. P's spleen, ignorance,

1 *Non arbitror rem esse periculosam laudare matrimonium, præsertim cum a me laudatur matrimonium simillimum Virginitati, in quo uxor gignendæ proli, non libidini habetur. . . . Sanctissimum est vitæ genus pure casteque conjugium. . . . nunc nusquam reperias minus inquinatam morum integritatem, quam apud conjugatos . . . non de vitæ genere sed de morum corruptela loquor.*

Eras. Apol. Declam. matrimonii, p. 91. & *Apol. adversus monachos Hispanos*, p. 871. *Eras. Opp. ed. Basil.* v. 9. Upon this subject we will beg leave to recommend to Mr. P. serious perusal *Erasmus's, Virginis & Martyris comparatio*. And he will be convinced that *Erasmus* had noble sentiments of true virginity, and such, as even he, with all his spleen against him, cannot but admire and approve.

and

and injustice, in the very malevolent turn he hath given of a jocular, chearful letter wrote in 1499, to *Faustus Andrelinus* poet laureat to the King of *France* by *Erasmus* who was then of *the advanced age of 32*, or according to *Possevin's* calculation, *only 30.*¹ He was, at that time, in *England*: and, from that flow of spirits, we may easily guess how much he was esteemed and beloved by his friends here. With the highest good humour, and pleasantry, he tells his correspondent, of the surprizing improvements he had made, in politeness as a courtier, and in country amusements as a sportsman. He tells him likewise, of the agreeable and polite custom of saluting the ladies; this, he adds with great mirth, should be inducement enough for a poet to come, and partake of the pleasures of such engaging company and conversation. Where now is the sin, or the shame of all this sprightly jesting? are the laws of modesty and chastity infringed by a jocular recital of that familiarity with the ladies, which the fashion² of the times

¹ *Dupin hist. eccles. 16 cent. 1st. p^t. p. 263. Note.*

² As this letter of *Erasmus* to *Andrelinus*, is but short, it will not, I hope, be disagreeable to give a few extracts from it. The genteel compliment paid our nation, must give us pleasure; and the regard he shewed to the *English* ladies, should be as well known, as his respect for the gentlemen. *Erasmus ille, quem nosti, jam bonus propemodum venator est, eques non pessimus, Aulicus non imperitus, salutat paulo blandius, arridet comius, & invita*

rendered both innocent and civil. Were we disposed to be severe upon this occasion, the prudish affectation of Mr. P. hath given us advantage enough; but we will spare him, and content ourselves with observing, that they who can improve such harmless expressions of natural, youthful gaiety, into gallantries of an impure and wicked tendency, must have either a very bad heart, or very filthy ideas. *Qui capit ille facit.* And after all. What is *Erasmus's* boasting of the salutes of modest women, to *Eneas Sylvius's* glorying *though a priest and advanced in years*, in the lewdest language, of his debaucheries, and repining at the approach of age: and yet this man, under the name of *Pius the 2d*, “was one of the
“most respectable of all the Roman pon-

invita Minerva hæc omnia. . . . Tu quoque si sapias, huc advolabis. . . . Quanquam si Britannicæ dotes satis pernosses Fauste, næ tu alatis pedibus huc accurreres: & si podagra tua non sineret, Dædalum te fieri optares. . . . Sunt hic Nymphæ divinis vultibus, blandæ, faciles, & quas tu, tuis camænis facile anteponas. Est præterea mos nunquam satis laudatus, sive quo venias, omnium osculis exciperis: sive discedas aliquo, osculis dimitteris: rediis redduntur suavia: venit ad te propinantur suavia: disceditur abs te, dividuntur basia: occurritur alicubi, basiatur affatim, denique quocunque te moveas, suaviorum plena sunt omnia. Quæ si tu Fauste gustasses semel quam sint mollicula, quam fragrantia, profecto cuperes non decennium solum, ut Solon fecit, sed ad mortem usque in Anglia peregrinari. Cætera coram jocabimur. Nam videbo te, spero, propediem. Vale.

Ex Anglia anno 1499. Ep. Eras. L. 5. Fausto Andreliino, p. 222.

O

“tiffs.”

P. 160. "tiffs." Mr. *Phillips*, not yet tired of abusing *Erasmus*, affirmeth, *that when he speaks of auricular confession, every assertion is an error.* It is well he says this out of

P. 161. the reach of the inquisition, or that holy office would censure him *for dissenting from the spirit of the catholic church . . . and her rule of rectitude.* For surely the first book of the *Exomologesis* is every way unexceptionable; and tho' he does, in the second, consider some inconveniencies that may happen, and particularly at the conclusion, makes this true and just reflection, which I guess to be the passage so offensive to godly Mr. *P*, "that sin by being too frequently confessed may come to be less frightful to us, and a penitent loses by little and little his shamefacedness, which is the surest way to preserve his innocence:" yet does he proceed to answer all these objections, and in a way sufficient to satisfy any objector, that his intention in this treatise was not to set auricular confession aside, but only to propose some rules, that both priest and penitent might most advantageously perform that duty.² It must

¹ *Gilpin's* lives of the reformers. Postscript, p. 367, 368.

² *Dupin* eccles. hist. 16 century, p^t. 1. p. 315. It was not so much this doctrine, as the scandalous abuse of it, that *Erasmus* so frequently inveighed against. *Totus mundus plenus est fabularum de flagitiis ac sceleribus quæ sub umbra confessionis admittuntur, . . . ut vel sola*

indeed be owned, that high as his opinion was of the usefulness or necessity of it: yet he did not think *auricular confession* instituted by Christ or his apostles, but only looked upon it as a positive law enjoined by the church, and upon the same authority as that group of human ordinances, mentioned by our writer, such as *the distinction of food, the observance of Lent, and other appointed fasts, and the single life of the clergy*; all which, as being doctrines of men, he had no higher reverence for than they deserved.

The monastic profession, and the monks, he did indeed treat with the contempt they richly merited at his hands. He found them sworn foes to true learning and piety; the pests of society; and the haters of reformation in every shape. When any man of learning appeared at any time, they immediately took the alarm: and whom they could not confute by argument, they endeavoured to silence by reproaches. *Eras-*

sola commemoratio posset lectoris animum inficere. Verum monachi complures non amore pietatis urgent hanc confessionem, sed quod hinc auferant luculentam messem, dum regnant in ædibus divitum, quorum secreta norunt, dum adsunt morientibus, dum arrodunt testamenta. Considerent lernam malorum, quæ hætenus orta est ex confessionibus, & mirari desinent, si quid admonui de recte confitendo.

Eras. Ep. Episcopo cuidam cited by Seckendorf, L. i. p. 163. See also his reply ad notationes novas Lei. v. 9. p. 214. ed. Bas.

mus's whole life, was a life of altercation with these troublesome hornets; who were always teizing, and insulting him. As he knew them, and their actions well, he hath, in numberless places of his works, drawn their portraiture at full length. Tho' he could not but despise their ignorance and absurdity, yet he sometimes vouchsafed to chastize their insolence: and many of his most formidable adversaries are now only known, by the honour he hath done them, in recording their names, as bigots and persecutors, as inflexible opponents to science and the liberal arts. Having had his education in a convent, he saw the monks more attentive to the idle forms and stupid ceremonies of their rule, than the advancement of religion and learning. The like detestation of them, and from the same sources, knowledge and experience, had the reforming *Luther*; who exerted himself equally against them. He, and *Erasmus* well knew, that monasteries were too often the seminaries of vice, ignorance, and credulity: and they looked upon it, as their duty, to check the progress of enthusiasm,

¹ *Erasmi, Ecclesiastes*, L. 2. p. 345, 346. and L. 3. p. 468. edit. *Bas.* 12°. 1544. See also *Ep. Paulo Voltzio*, L. 23. p. 892. and *Ep. Lamberto Grunnio*, L. 24. p. 924. where *Erasmus* is supposed to mean himself under the name of *Florentius*.

which

which was still founding fresh orders of the professed, and still increasing the number and wealth of convents. Places, which though originally built, and endowed under the specious pretences of promoting the spiritual state, they could not but consider, as a nuisance, and a detriment to the sacred cause of christianity.

We are told, by Mr. P, that *this affinity* P. 161. *of sentiments, in this and numberless other articles, produced the consideration, which Luther, in his turn, had for Erasmus.* When Luther first opposed that enormous corruption of christianity, the doctrine of indulgences, he hoped, from the turn and temper of Erasmus, to be seconded by him. He had seen, and read with pleasure, his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*: and judging from thence of their mutual agreement, he sent him that very modest and respectful letter, before hinted at, and here referred to; in which, though Luther does not say, *he read his works with the greatest application, and found his chief delight in them*, yet does he address him in the most humble, cour-

1 *Voluit autem Dominus (ut nunc video) academiarum sapientias, & monasteriorum sanctitates propria & certa experientia, hoc est multis peccatis & impietatibus mihi notas fieri, ne impiis hominibus occasio fieret in futurum adversarium gloriandi, quod ignota damnarem.*

Lutheri de votis monasticis ep. dedic. ad patrem, v. 2. Wutt. p. 269.

teous

teous, and civil manner. But *Erasmus* had not his spirit : and however well he wished him, yet, as *Luther* was to struggle by himself, unsupported by the authority of the great, his natural timidity and love of ease prevented him, first from joining forces with him, and afterwards obliged him to break off all communication with him and his party. And hence the bigots and the dunces, knowing this foible of *Erasmus*, attacked him with even more severity, than they did *Luther* ; charging him with laying those eggs, which the other's violence hatched.

P. 161. But a *Lutheran* writer, says Mr. P, exposed his inconsistencies in a work addressed to the publick. The impetuous *Hutten*, in the warmth of resentment for a supposed affront or flight shewed him by *Erasmus*, did publish an invective against him. What the title of this work was, does not clearly appear : but, because *Erasmus*, in the too

Nunc quando --- intellexi, per nugas illas indulgentiarum nomen meum tibi cognitum . . . non modo tibi visa esse, sed & accepta mea fabulamenta, cogor agnoscere egregium tuum spiritum . . . Si ita si tibi visum fuerit, agnosce hunc fraterculum in Christo . . . pro inscitia sua nihil meritum, quam ut in Angulo sepultus, communi etiam caelo & soli ignotus esset . . . Et nescio quo fato . . . ut cogar, multo pudore pati meas ignominias, & infælicem inscitiam, etiam coram doctis versari, & jactari.

Lutherus Eras. inter Eras. Ep. L. 6. p. 243.

great

great notice he took of it, called his reply *Spongia adversus Aspergines Hutteni*,¹ our learned writer refers to it under that appellation; and tells us moreover, that *Erasmus*, in his apology, appears almost as zealous a defender of *Luther's* tenets, as he who broached them; citing at the bottom of the page, *Apolog. Senatui Argentin.* But as *Erasmus* published no treatise or apology under that title, and tho' an epistle be somewhat different from an apology; we guess he means nothing more than the letter to the senate of *Strasburgh*, which does not shew him to be at all a zealous defender of *Luther's* tenets: and what *Erasmus* says favourably of *Luther* in that letter, has already been considered.²

But impiety took a still bolder flight, when he endeavoured to weaken or elude all the proofs which the scripture furnishes of the divinity of *Jesus Christ*. If *Mr. P.* was at all conversant in *Erasmus's* writings, he surely never would have made so presumptuous and false an assertion: for he holdeth the proper divinity of the son, in as strong terms, as even the orthodox *Mr. P.*

¹ See the account of this quarrel between *Hutten* and *Erasmus*, in the *Spongia*. *Eras. Op.* v. 9. p. 1340. and in *Fortin's* life of him, v. 1. p. 305, and 316. and v. 2. p. 277. and *Seckendorf*, L. 1. p. 140.

² P. 11.

can require. Such a voluminous writer may easily be misunderstood; and he could not help the ill use that some warm and eager controversialists made of his great name and authority; for he himself was ever steady in the belief of this doctrine.¹ Whence then all this rancour against him? He gave up (it seems) some weak and inconclusive arguments; and did not press into his service all those texts of SS, which some zealous urged to prove a doctrine, sufficiently clear and established without them. As *Erasmus* wrote against the *Arians*; and to vindicate himself from any imputation of favouring them, he solemnly declared, that he abhorred their sentiments; how very cruel and disingenuous is it, to continue and repeat the charge, as if it was confessed and notorious! An humane and candid adversary, after such asseverations, would scorn to take any advantage of an unguarded expression, that might accidentally slip from his pen; or to insult his memory, by transmitting the calumnies of bitter, and long forgotten, enemies.

But Mr. *P*, far from this generosity of temper, rakes up every thing he can col-

¹ See, amongst other of his writings, to name no more, *explicatio symbol. apostol. & decalog.* p. 95. *Leyden* edit. in 24°. 1641. the *Apol. adversus Stunicam*, in *Johan.* 1. p. 258, and the *responsio ad monachos Hispanos.* p. 846. *Eras. Opp.* v. 9.

lect, or mistake, concerning *Erasmus*; averring, that *he asserts the church to be no* P. 160.
where visible, and was about to compose the
epitaph of Jesus Christ, as one who was no
more, since Luther's breast alone contained a
few sparks of the gospel. And where does
Erasmus say this? seriously no where. One
Bedda, a furious divine of *Paris*, “had ex-
 “erted his malice in collecting various and
 “detached passages from *Erasmus*, which
 “seemed to favour the *Lutherans*. . . . At
 “the conclusion of his defence, *Erasmus*
 “says, if the church is not supported by a
 “better *Atlas*, it is high time to write its
 “epitaph. . . . I have nothing, says he, in
 “common with the sentiments of *Luther*:
 “but it cannot be denied that the doctrine
 “of *Luther* approacheth much nearer to
 “the true spirit of christianity, than the
 “theology of *Bedda*.”¹ Our writer adds,
I omit what he says against the freedom of P. 161.
our will. Kindly done indeed! If he has
 got such a treatise of *Erasmus*, it is bound
 up, I suppose, in the same volume with
 dean *Colet's* commentaries on the *SS*;²
 and kept, as a rarity, in his own study.
 From what *Erasmus* communicated to the
 world himself, it appears, that so far from
 saying any thing against the freedom of our

¹ Fortin's *Erasmus*, v. 2. p. 113.

² Life of *Pole*, p. 46.

will,

will, he really and truly contended, in the right sense, strenuously for it, in his memorable controversy with *Luther*, who maintained the doctrine of fate and necessity; the one writing *pro libero*, the other *pro servo arbitrio*.

P. 162. Thus have we gone through Mr. P's calumnies against *Erasmus*. And if *this subject* has been too much lengthened out, we hope to be excused: as we esteemed it a debt of justice and gratitude to this great character, to endeavour to clear it from the mistakes and misrepresentations of our biographer; who, far from cultivating that amiable spirit of candour and moderation, which is inseparable from true learning, puts every thing in an odious light; and rejoices in every opportunity of expressing that animosity and malice, which is equally a violation of the laws of humanity and christianity. And however Mr. P. may plead his zeal for the peculiarities of his religious principles; yet it cannot but raise in others, a just abhorrence of that religion, which encourages such outrageous acts of slander and defamation against the dead, as well as persecution against the living.

P. 163. The cardinal's late promotion gave occasion, as Mr. P. tells us, to this digression; that is to say, because *Hofius*, in a congratulatory letter to *Pole*, had given an indication

P. 154,
155.

tion of his sense of Erasmus's merit, he therefore thought himself obliged to abuse him: and, to display his own great stock of learning, has picked up the dirt, which they, who have little or no reputation of their own to lose, have tried to fix upon Erasmus. But when Mr. P. returns to his hero, he is so elevated with his late exertion of zeal, that being in the proper humour of finding fault, he abruptly leaves the cardinal, whilst he is answering the Doge of Venice's letter; and steps from him and Italy, to Henry and England. Things were going on in that country, in such a manner, he says, that the new cardinal, would soon have an opportunity of exerting himself in P. 164. her behalf. Henry (it seems) had no sooner P. 165. assumed the supremacy of the church, — than one of the first acts of his spiritual power, was to suppress all religious houses, of both sexes, whose yearly income was under 300 marks, or 200 pounds, and seize the revenues for his own use. He, who will take upon himself to defend all the proceedings in the suppression of these, and afterwards of the greater monasteries, must be an hardy man indeed; and yet, surely, there is none so zealous, as to be an advocate for them altogether.

Like all other institutions, they had strangely deviated from their original appointment: and what was at first intended
as

P. 3.

as a retreat from persecution, degenerated, by folly and length of time, into flying from the world, from the duties of social and relative life, and from all the active offices of humanity, to serve God in uncommanded acts of solitary strictnesses. In *the iron age of ignorance and barbarism*, when superstition and enthusiasm prevailed in the church, proud and ambitious men found their account in copying, upon other views, the rigid austerities of the first monks: the monastic state was looked upon, as the only state of perfection. By degrees, and the blessings of ignorance, monks and monkery increased to an astonishing height, both with respect to variety of rules and orders, and the numbers of professed in each order: some of which, one would imagine, were only founded, and permitted, to shew how far folly and enthusiasm could carry men; and to give the world a sure, but melancholy proof, how naturally superstition tends to enfeeble the mind, to draw it off from the duties of true religion, and make it contemptible and ridiculous. But a false notion of piety had deluded the world: and whilst men were ignorant of the true spirit of christianity, some fanatical saint or spiritual inamorato, served to found, or dignify each respective order; and to promote the cause, by sham miracles, and pretended relics.

In

In our own country we had our full share : and the monastic state, sheltering itself under the pretension of being consecrated to God, triumphed in ease, and power, and affluence ; their possessions were continually increasing ; and the laity had reason to apprehend, that in time they might engross the best estates in the kingdom. In process of time, they had made good strides towards it : for expiring piety is oftner more fervent than discreet ; and masses for the poor tormented souls in a fancied purgatory, would expiate the enormities of a profligate life. The Wealth, that the dead left behind them, would answer that expence. This made so many poor heirs, and so many rich convents ; and was a comfortable and expeditious way of having the gates of paradise opened, at the expence of their executors. But whether their souls were released out of purgatory or no, their estates remained with the monastery ; whose revenues, by this means, were daily augmented.

Thus amassing riches and influence, the monks could not but give umbrage to the state. In the year 1410, the parliament petitioned *Henry* the 4th against them ; signifying, that they made an ill use of their riches, and consumed their incomes, in a very different manner from their donor's intent ; that their revenues ought to be lessened : —
that

that by this means the kingdom's safety would be better provided for, *the poor better maintained*, and the clergy more attached to their duty.¹ And again, a few years afterwards, another parliament, which had just enacted very severe laws against the Lollards and heretics, addressed his successor, *Henry the 5th*, in 1414, upon the same considerations, and for the same purposes. — The clergy to avert, or at least weaken this storm, agreed to resign part of their riches to the King, to save the rest. They offered him the lands of all the *alien priories* being 110: and accordingly these were given to him by act of parliament, without the clergy's opposing it.²

Besides this, there were instances in history, that the Popes had changed one order for another; and sometimes, out of the omnipotency of their power, had entirely abolished others.³ The multiplicity of them had been long, and every where, complained of. *St. Augustin* (by some thought to have been a founder of one of the monastic orders) speaks like a good protestant reformer. *Luther* could not have expressed his censures, in stronger terms than these, “we cannot tell whether they be—
“came monks for purpose to serve God;

¹ *Rapin's hist.* v. 1. p. 500.

² *Id.* p. 509.

³ *Fuller's church hist.* B. 6. p. 301.

“or else, being weary of their poor and
 “painful life, were rather desirous to be
 “fed and cloathed, doing nothing:” and
 the alms they got, he did not scruple to
 call, “the charges of gainful poverty; and
 “the price of feigned holiness.” *Bede*,
 though a monk, both in his ecclesiastical
 history, and in his famous letter to *Egbert*
 arch-bishop of *York*, wrote a short time
 before his death, reckoned, that from their
 number, and the dissolute lives of the pro-
 fessed, they would prove prejudicial in the
 end to both church and state.² And that
 they still continued to need a reformation,
 cannot be doubted, when *he, who was the* P. 140.
directing mind that guided the whole; and
alone drew up the plan of reformation be-
fore mentioned, when even Pole himself,
 fully acknowledged, that amongst other
 grievances, these orders of monks and friars
 ought to be reformed. “For many of
 “them are so vile, that they are a shame
 “unto the seculars: and with their exam-
 “ple do much ill. *As for conventual or-*

1 *Non apparet utrum ex proposito servitutis Dei vene-*
rint, an vitam inopem, & laboriosam fugientes, vacui pas-
ci, & vestiri voluerint. ---- And the alms that they get,
 are called *sumptus lucrosæ egestatis: & simulatæ pretium*
sanctitatis.

Augustinus de opere monach. cap. 22. & 28. cited in
bishop Jewell's defence of the apology, p. 451.

2 *Bede eccles. hist. L. 5. c. 24. and his Ep. ad Eg-*
bert, p. 258 ---- 261. Bedæ opera theol. edit. Wharton.

“ders,

“ders, we think it good they be all abolished.”¹

The ease with which bishop *Fisher*, and cardinal *Wolsey*, had procured the suppression of several of the lesser monasteries in order to endow the colleges they were building, was an especial precedent to *Henry*, who was now declared the supreme head of the church of *England*: and in the dissolution of these religious houses, he did no more, than some of the most zealous churchmen had done before. From their amazing increase, and too often unguarded behaviour (to speak no more) wise men were aware, they were too much overgrown to last long. And when bishop *Fox* of *Winchester*, in the beginning of this century, was inclined to found a monastery of the order of *St. Benedict*, he was dissuaded from it, by his friend bishop *Oldham* of *Exeter*,² and advised to build a college; because convents, he told him, possessed more than they would long enjoy, and per-

¹ *Alius abusus corrigendus est in ordinibus religiosorum; quod adeo multi deformati sunt, ut magno sint scandalo sæcularibus, exemploque plurimum noceant. Conventuales ordines abolendos esse putamus omnes. Non tamen ut alicui fiat injuria, sed prohibendo, ne novos possint admittere. Sic enim sine ullius injuria cito delerentur, & boni religiosi eis substitui possint. Nunc vero putamus optimum fore, si omnes pueri, qui non sunt professi, ab eorum monasteriis repellerentur. Petr. Crabbe concil. tom. 3. conc. dilect. cardinal. p. 822.*

² *Wood hist. & antiq. Oxon. L. 2. p. 230.*

haps they themselves might outlive them : and this was spoke at a time, when there could be no suspicion of their impending ruin. Upon this, the bishop of *Winchester* altered his mind, and founded *Corpus Christi* College in *Oxford* : a society by me never to be mentioned without the utmost gratitude and affection ; which hath reflected honour upon its founder ; and many of whose members have stood high in the annals of fame. A pleasing remembrance of former days presents itself :

*Nec me Foxi meminisse pigebit,
Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit
artus.*

The kingdom, by these instances, may be said to be prepared for the alterations that succeeded. As the monastic societies were founded at first in superstition, and encouraged by ignorance and fanaticism, as soon as *learning* and *the polite arts* had p. 3. *lighted up the sacred lamp of science, which, for some centuries, had been almost totally extinct* ; it was natural to inquire into the validity of such donations, what power the donors had to vest their property in such unalienable tenures, and likewise how far the societies themselves had answered the end of their original foundation¹. The

¹ Bp. *Ellis* on spiritual liberty, p^t. 1. p. 225, &c.

monks must thank themselves for the rigour of this inquiry: their own imprudence had brought it upon them. They had irritated a violent and high-spirited prince: they had taken every opportunity, to insult him to his face, to blacken him in the minds of his subjects, to foment sedition, and to raise rebellions against him. *Henry*, thus provoked, was in self-defence obliged to humble their power and influence; and to crush these seminaries of faction (as he found them to be) which otherwise, by their influence, might subvert his authority.

More effectually to discover the disorders that had been so greatly complained of in that state, several commissioners were appointed for the visitation of these houses, previous to the parliamentary suppression of them; that, from their representations, measures might accordingly be taken. The instructions given to the visitors, to regulate their inquiry, are distinctly set down by bishop *Burnet*¹: and the account of their proceedings, in the execution of their commission, is preserved by that faithful historian *Mr. Strype*². These proceedings being laid before the parliament, brought on the acts for their dissolution, but first of the

¹ *Burnet*, v. i. records, p. 131.

² *Strype's* memorials, v. i. c. 35, throughout, p. 251; &c. See also *Burnet*, v. i. p. 190.

lesser monasteries, “ which (says lord *Her-*
 “ *bert*) though lamented by many . . . had
 “ these motives. The vitious and incor-
 “ rigible lives of monastical persons, con-
 “ fessed, by the whole parliament: the
 “ lands not employed according to the in-
 “ tent of the donors and founders; divers
 “ superstitions, and forging of miracles
 “ practised amongst them”.

Such an undertaking as this, where the
 maintenance of so many was concerned,
 could not possibly be prosecuted without
 complaint and opposition; neither (though
 in the main a beneficial step) without doing
 private injuries, and personal hardships.
 These useless foundations, for they were
 now become in a great measure such, upon
 the encouragement given to the universities,
 had so great a share of wealth and property,
 that if the *ancient superstition* had continued,
 the greatest and best part of the riches and
 influence of the nation would have been
 sunk into the hands of those, who contri-
 buted little, or nothing, to the support
 of it.

And truly, if we consider them in a se-
 rious light, they were in many respects
 dangerous to the state, and prejudicial to
 the church itself. They distressed the state

1 Lord *Herbert*, p. 440. *Fuller's eccles. hist.* b. 6.
 p. 329.

by their immense possessions, and by robbing it of such numbers of defensible men. Every state should guard against perpetuities; in the fewer hands property is, there is the greater danger of despotism and slavery'. They were also a hindrance to the free execution of justice; for being mostly exempt from civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, offenders found in them a refuge and sanctuary from shame and punishment. They were detrimental to the church, by their great number of appropriations; by their exemption from tythes; and by, what is still severely felt, the shameful pittance they allowed the parish-priest for the service of the church; for when *Henry* seized their estates, he reserved the same allowance for the service of the church, which the monks themselves, out of their boundless generosity, and great conscience, had thought sufficient for the maintenance of the parish-priest.

The antiquarian may be indulged in lamenting the demolition of these ancient monuments of their ancestors superstitious and mistaken devotion; the zealot may rail against the sacrilege of perverting things plausibly dedicated to religious purposes. But what, if they were founded at first in

See letter X of a series of sensible letters published, in the *Publick Ledger*, under the name of *Candidus*.

ignorance of the true spirit of religion? what if purgatory be a fable, and masses for the dead of no avail? then the intent and necessity of their institution ceases; and the legislature has a right to interfere, and to inquire how far such donations are really disposed of for the service of God, the interest of religion, and the benefit or civil welfare of the public: if they are found prejudicial to all, it may be presumed, that God gives up his title and interest in them, and that the legislature is justifiable in resuming them¹. It were indeed greatly to be wished, that the wealth of these dissolved seminaries had gone into another and a better channel; and instead of being shared (however good the policy of it might be) amongst the leading men of the laity, had, as they ought, been appropriated to the service of the public; that holy *Latimer's* proposals had been attended to; and two or three of these foundations spared in every diocese, not to retain monkery, but to maintain preaching, study with praying, and good house-keeping.²

Mr. *Dod*, sensible that some irregularities might have got ground in the mo-

¹ Bishop *Ellis's* tracts, p^t. i. p. 226. *Candidus's* letter XI.

² *Latimer's* letter to *Cromwell*. *Strype* mem. v. i. p. 259. Lord *Herbert*, p. 506. *Burnet*, v. i. p. 237.

nasteries, candidly owns, that the reforming
 of them would have been “ a very laud-
 “ able undertaking, had either order, de-
 “ cency, or measure been observed in the
 “ execution. Frequent abuses had for
 “ many years been complained of, which
 “ seemed to plead in favour of such an at-
 “ tempt.” How far true or false, the
 grievous accusations brought against the
 professed were, and what credit is to be
 given them, we may judge from the evi-
 dence delivered in history, which cannot
 well be denied. From the sinful state,
 horrible deeds, pious tricks, and revelations,
 which were contrived, and committed in
 the monasteries, and are upon record, it
 could not but make the order infamous, and
 raise a general indignation against the au-
 thors of such polluted actions, and shame-
 ful forgeries.¹ “ We have the *prior of*
 “ *St. Andrew’s confession* amongst our rolls :
 “ we have an abstract of the *breviarium*
 “ *compertorium in monasteriis* a^o 1538,
 “ which, if we do not more largely insist
 “ upon, ’tis our good manners that will not
 “ suffer us to talk of those sins, which

¹ Church history, p. 100.

² Strype’s Mem. v. 1. p. 251, &c. Carte, v. 3. p.

143. Lord Herbert, p. 495. Burnet, v. 1. p. 242.

Fuller, b. 6. p. 316, &c.

“ their

“their *religion* did not hinder them from
“acting.”¹

From the natural depravity of mankind, it is impossible to imagine, in so great a multitude of people, as the several orders of the *professed* amounted to, but, that many of them were not restrained, either by their religion, or their vows, from committing notorious and scandalous enormities: and there is great reason to think, that the commissioners, though, perhaps, they might in some cases aggravate matters, were yet tolerably impartial, from the testimony they gave of the order, decency, and religion observed in some of the monasteries and nunneries.²

The visitors appointed, were different persons for different counties and dioceses: but we are told by Mr. P, that the King's P. 165.
vicar Cromwell appointed Dr. Lee, a person of the utmost profligacy, chief visitor both of the manners and property of such places. He differs here a little from his good friend Sanders, from whom he took this character of Dr. Legh; for *that true and faithful historian* says, the King himself appointed Legh.³ But they are both mistaken;

¹ *Aitterbury's* answer to the Considerations of the spirit of *Martin Luther*, p. 21.

² *Strype's Mem.* v. 1. p. 254, &c. and 268. *Gollier*, v. 2. p. 155, &c. *Fuller*, b. 6. p. 316.

³ *De schism. Anglic.* p. 136.

for *Legh* was not the chief, or the most active; the others were invested with equal powers; for he might have learned from *Collier*,¹ or rather from *Dod*,² who copies *Collier*, and to whom our industrious and laborious author is obliged for all his authorities and information concerning the dissolution of these religious houses, both the lesser and the greater ones: they would tell him, that this visitation was suggested to *Cromwell* by *Layton*, who recommended *Legh*;³ and if he was a person of the utmost profligacy, he was a fit person to be employed in the dirty work of detecting the guilt of others. Dr. *London*, warden of *New Coll. Oxon*, and dean of *Wallingford*, who was one of the visitors, we freely own to have been really a person of the utmost profligacy. He did open penance in *Oxford*, for incontinency:⁴ and when this visitation was over, he could not rest, but was convicted of perjury, in being concerned in a conspiracy against some of the King's servants, as supposed favourers of the reformation.⁵

¹ *Collier*, v. 2. p. 104.

² *Church hist.* p. 101.

³ *Collier*, v. 2. p. 104.

⁴ *Strype's Mem.* v. 1. p. 377. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 241.

⁵ *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 327. *Fuller*, b. 6. p. 314.

Had any of these commissioners set themselves up as patrons of the *new doctrines*, (as Mr. P. terms them) there might have been greater room for clamour against them, as if they were employed in an attempt that would end in the *total subversion of the*^{P. 167.} *ancient worship*; but it doth not appear that any of them had the least tendency that way: and how much soever they were instrumental, in exposing the immoralities of the monasteries, they persevered, and many of their families still continue, in their *ancient faith*. If they wantonly abused their power, that be to themselves; they were good *catholics*; and they were but poorly rewarded for all their trouble: and I know of no advantage, any of them reaped, by opening the stores of such plunder, if *Layton* be excepted, who, in 1537, was made dean of *York*, and died not many years after.

The people, Mr. P. informs us, ^{P. 166.} *were spectators of these innovations, — and the King's real motives, in these proceedings, were but too visible.* What the King's *real motives* were, at this interval of time, we cannot determine: we know, however, he might have good and substantial reasons for so doing. We sincerely pity, with our tender-hearted biographer, the hard fate

↓ Harmer's errors in Burnet, p. 57.

of

of those who were turned adrift by this visitation: but here we differ; our compassion is confined to the personal distresses of the suffering parties; for we do not at all lament the demolition of such nurseries of vice, of idleness, and of superstition.

P. 165. Such a reform could not be made, but some individuals must greatly suffer. Mr. P, who loveth much to enlarge, tells us, that the younger monks, that is, those under the age of 24, were compelled to leave their monasteries; the rest were left at their own discretion, either to stay or depart; but those who remained were mured up, and not permitted to go out of their houses. John Stowe, from whom this intelligence was had, does say something, that at first view looks like it. For he says, that “when the younger monks, and those who would go, were put forth, the visitors, after closed up the residue that would remain.” This sounded like a greater hardship than what either *Dod* or *Collier* say; and therefore was put down to exaggerate the persecutions of the monks. The other historians content themselves with reporting, “that those who had lived longer than 24 years, when they turned religious, might have the liberty either to quit their profession, or remove

1 Stowe's Annals, p. 572.

“ to

“ to a larger house ;”¹ which was not quite so bad as being immured. Nor do we wonder, at what lord *Herbert* (whom, by the by, Mr. *P.* did not consult upon this occasion) says, that many (especially they who got nothing thereby) were grieved to see the monks and the nuns wandering abroad.² Neither is the number of these unfortunate sufferers computed by him, but by *Fuller*, to amount to the number of 10,000 persons.³ The truth of the matter is, our sagacious writer found a long, connected quotation in Mr. *Dod*,⁴ from *Collier*, *Fuller*, and *Herbert* ; which he has turned to his own use, but unfortunately has not clearly distinguished his authorities, for want of a little necessary care to consult them himself. But, however, none of them pretend to say, that whilst the monks and the nuns *were wandering about*, and P. 166. *starving, the commissioners rioted in the profit of these confiscations.* But as all the writers referred to by Mr. *P.* are silent upon this head, we should not accuse the visitors of more crimes than they committed : and all

¹ *Dod*, v. 1. p. 105. *Collier*, v. 2. p. 109.

² Lord *Herbert*, p. 441.

³ *Fuller*, b. 6. p. 311.

⁴ Church history, p. 104. citing *Collier*, v. 2. p. 155, and p. 180. *Fuller*, p. 312. and lord *Herbert*, p. 377.---the very same references as are made by Mr. *P.* p. 166.

that

that lord *Herbert* says, is to this purpose,
 “ that the commissioners refused to re-
 “ deem a piece of *St. Andrew’s finger*, co-
 “ vered with an ounce of silver, which was
 “ pawned by one of the monasteries for 40
 “ pounds.” If the broker had more faith
 than the commissioners, he must have a
 good bargain, for such a trifle, to retain so
 precious a relic; which might work mi-
 racles for his benefit whilst alive; and, af-
 ter his death, prevent him from staying
 long in purgatory.

Thus did the famous *supplication of beg-
 gars*, wrote some years² before this visita-
 tion was set on foot, or thought of, meet
 with greater encouragement, than Sir *Tho-
 mas More’s supplication of the souls in pur-
 gatory*: what *these* might lose by the fall of
 the monasteries is hard to say; the living
 souls, however, had no reason to complain,
 for, by the act of dissolution, the same
 good hospitality, under great penalties,³
 was to be kept up; and though the tenants
 had changed landlords, the lands were
 not gone, they continued as before: and
 whatsoever insurrections might be foment-
 ed, and supported by the ejected, and of

¹ P. 441.

² Mr. *Fox* supposes it to have been wrote in 1527.
 V. 2. p. 279.

³ *Puller* (*Church hist.* p. 312.) says, the penalty was
 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a month.

course,

course, discontented monks, they soon came to nothing. The King being master of his parliament, was equally so of his kingdom: and those hasty and unsuccessful risings, which succeeded this dissolution of the monasteries, though all under the specious pretence of *religion and ancient usages*, did but serve the more effectually to extirpate the religious orders, root and branch; and hasten the visitation of the greater monasteries, whose members had remarkably distinguished themselves, by their zeal and activity in abetting these commotions.

The pleas that these several *insurgents* P. 168. urged, plainly shewed, that they were stirred up by the monks: the leader of the *Lincolnshire insurrection*, was Dr. Mackerel, prior of *Barlings*, and many years a suffragan bishop in the diocese of *Lincoln*; who, disguised as a mechanic, called himself captain *Cobler*. The next rebellion (for the former was soon quelled) discovered its intentions, under *the quaint name of the pilgrim- P. 169. grimace of grace*: a more regular and formidable body than the other; and who seemed to have had some leaders, well skilled in the proper application of those popular and plausible incentives, which can at any time irritate a mob, abuse of a ministry, and the cry of religion and liberty. And why? because a few sturdy monks had been sent abroad into the world, to become
useful

useful members of the state. However, this great body, upon the assurance of pardon, was soon prevailed upon to lay down their arms.

P. 170. The river *Dun* was so obstinately heretical, as by a repeated *inundation to be rendered impassable*, and twice to disconcert
P. 167. the schemes of these pious persons, whose
P. 168. *uneasiness at the apprehension of a total subversion of the ancient worship* led them into *overt acts of hostility*, against their sovereign.

Had the river continued fordable, or had an high wind chanced to have made it shallower than ordinary, how happily might our historian, who is so much given to judgments, have flourished upon the favour of heaven in so remarkably declaring for these *injured insurgents*? How effectually
P. 168. would this have *obviated whatever may be objected to the lawfulness of the method of redress*, by those who are *inattentive to the provocation*? Much better than the reasons he hath assigned. But alas! *these tumults*, and all the risings that succeeded, were soon stopped; and the rebels made nothing out, notwithstanding *the motives on which they justified their proceedings*. Henry's power and good fortune prevailed, though
P. 171. trusted to that general, who was the most
P. 172. *powerful of all those who favoured the ancient religion*, and who was *thoroughly persuaded of her faith and worship*.

Thus

Thus an end was put to these several commotions: and some of the rebel leaders, not keeping their terms with the King, met with the reward of their treason. "For, thinking the King dilatory, " general *Ask* and the rest of his adherents " fly again to arms, and endeavour to re- " kindle in the north, the fire that was " lately extinguished." Can *Henry* then be blamed, upon these repeated provocations, for using some severity, and making an example of some, to prevent future revolts? However, when the principal managers of these disturbances were executed, "the King," says lord *Herbert*, "by letter to the duke of *Norfolk*, said, he " would close this tragedy, for he sent now " a general pardon; which was received " with great joy, many being terrified " with the duke's proceedings." ¹ *To which* P. 171. *act of grace*, though lord *Herbert* does not say it, *he adhered*.

After this doleful account, which our biographer has given, of the lamentable state of monks and monkery in *England*, and the ineffectual struggles of those *in-* P. 173. *surgents*, who had taken up arms in favour of the ancient doctrine, which was plainly

¹ *Dod*, church hist. v. 1. p. 106.

² Lord *Herbert*, p. 492. (not p. 248, where we are referred by Mr. P.)

intended

intended to prepare us for what follows; the hero of the work before us is again introduced, but in a character, which we cannot help thinking will place him in a most offensive light. We shall find him busily employed in doing the dirty work of a spiritual incendiary; and exerting every effort of sanctified malice, in abetting rebellions, and exciting the principal powers of *Europe* to interfere in the management of affairs in *England*. The event shewed the folly of the Pope, and *Pole's* vanity and ignorance of the world, to imagine that the
P. 175. *several potentates*, to whom he was sent with
P. 173. *the quality of legate*, would listen to the religious complaints of a fanatical enthusiast. They could not but detest the presumption of that emissary, who went, from court to court, to solicit assistance against his King and his country: they received him with that scorn and contempt which his behaviour deserved; and would not condescend to admit to any familiar conversation, or even into their presence, the active instrument of so shameful and unnatural a commission.

The flourishing pen of our panegyric historian may gloss over the infamy of this commission: but let the impartial reader hear and determine, whether *Pole's* behaviour in this spiritual embassy, even from *Quirini's*, and Mr. *P's* own representation
of

of it, can entitle him to any gentler appellation, than that of being a rebel, and a traitor to his country. His own letters furnish us with sufficient proofs of this charge, which did not so clearly appear before. We learn from them, that he was sent into *Flanders* by the Pope, at the very time when the rebels were in arms in the north, to encourage and assist them; and to spirit up the Emperor and the King of *France*, to war against his own sovereign, to whom, by his own confession, he had the highest obligations. *His credentials* (as P. 175. they are termed) *from the Pope*, were calculated to justify the last, and to raise future rebellions in *England*.

The holy father of the christian church, in these credentials, has given a specimen of the usual manner in which himself, and his pious predecessors, exerted their *universal* P. 178. *superintendence over the church*. His address, not to *the English nation* in general, as Mr. P. tells us, but only to the catholic bishops and noblemen, was, to encourage their rebellion, and to express his joyful hopes of their success. His letters

1 *Paulus III. ad episcopos Anglos, ac proceres catholicos illius regni, &c. --- Angliæ populi nuper pœnitentiam factæ, & suam voluntatem pariter ostenderunt armis pro sancta religione, & veteri ejus observantia sumptis, quorum nos, sicut aberratione dolueramus, ita reversione maxime lætati.*

Quir. v. 2. p. CCLXVII. inter Monum. Prælix.

Q

to

to the kings of Scotland,¹ and France,² and to Mary governess of the Low Countries,³ were written with the same holy design; earnestly to solicit them, for the love of God, religion, and the church, to assist those zealous people of England, who chose to obey God rather than man; and

1 *Idem Regi Scotiæ. — Nos : . a te cum præsentibus omni studio, & amore per Jesum Dominum petimus, ut nobis, & Romanæ ecclesiæ in pietate dictorum populorum (sc. Angliæ) fovenda ac retinenda auxilio esse, Deique causam juvare tu in primis velis, cui occasio id faciendi propinquior & commodior. —* And when he sent him the baubles of a sword and cap of maintenance, blessed the night after Christmas day -- he told him that at this time, it was a proper present, because -- *vicini tibi regis impietas divina ultione concutitur* --- and that he had kept himself free from the imputation of heresy. And the typical signification of each present is thus set off, (p. 176) *ut Deus tibi dextram ense firmet, caputque tuum hoc pileo vi spiritus sancti per columbam figurati protegat ad tutelam sanctæ ecclesiæ, & catholicæ fidei, adversus eos, in quos Dei justitia, atque judicium nunc præparantur.*

Ibid. p. CCLXVII. & p. CCLXIX.

2 *Idem Regi Christianissimo. — Cum mitteremus . . . legatum nostrum -- ad confirmandam illorum Angliæ populorum pietatem. qui in veræ, & catholicæ fidei cultu manere cupiunt, proptereaque juvandi a nobis, & omnibus bonis sunt. ----* he goes on, and entreats and exhorts him, *ut te, & favorabilem ad juvandos veræ religionis zelatores, (i. e. the rebels) & placabilem ad consilia pacis præbere velis, a qua hoc tempore cætera bona dependent.* And he tells both these princes, *hæc plenius & particularius idem legatus sit explicaturus.*

Ibid. p. CCLXX.

3 *Idem Reginae Mariæ gubernatrici Flandriæ. — Reliqua esse debent posita in vestra opera, exequutione, atque auxilio.*

Ibid. p. CCLXXII.

that

that the legate would explain these matters more fully and particularly. But the language of *Pole's* instructions, or his *memo-* P. 176.
rial, is much plainer; and discovers, that this devout missionary was sent upon the old errand, of supporting religion, by abetting civil dissensions; for with other suggestions, calculated to promote the interest of the papal faction, was this christian proposal, that, in case the King should not keep his word with them, *some proper per-* P. 177.
son should be appointed to keep up their (the rebels) *resolution, and a sufficient fund allowed for that purpose.*

Such were the extraordinary practices of the Pope, such the infamous commission which *Pole* undertook; both of them hereby intending to display their *zeal for re-* P. 173.
uniting so fair a portion to the catholic church. The principles on which his ho- P. 178.
linefs proceeded, were drawn (says Mr. P.) *from that universal superintendence, which obliged him to watch over the spiritual welfare of each part of the church, and gave him* A RIGHT TO USE SUCH MEANS *as are proper to effect it: SUCH, we are to take it for granted, from the instance before us, as exciting rebellions, stirring up wars, and any such means, however violent or wicked, to remedy those evils, in which* (as was P. 183.

I Quir. v. 2. p. CCLXXIV. inter Monum. pralim.

Q 2

pretended)

pretended) *the King had involved himself and the whole kingdom.* But as the Pope, and his zealous agent, were thus open in their attempts against *Henry* and his kingdom, could they expect that a king of his spirit would tamely suffer them to proceed, without making them feel the weight of his power, and exposing the absurdity of their schemes? His subject, his relation, his friend, had publicly cast off his allegiance and duty to an indulgent sovereign; and was engaged in such open acts of mean hostility, as no state and government could possibly connive at. He therefore wilfully drew the storm upon himself; and by thus daring *Henry's* resentment, had no reason to complain of the King's behaviour; which needeth no other defence or apology, for driving the traitorous emigrant from place to place, than his own account of the nature and motives of his religious embassy.

P. 178.

Mr. *P.*, conscious of the objections that may justly be made to this part of his hero's conduct, has endeavoured to palliate his entering on a kind of offensive state with his sovereign: --- by laying before the reader, the legate's manner of reasoning on it. The legate is indeed much obliged to the kindness of his biographer, for the pains he hath taken to make him speak so learnedly in his first book on the church's unity, where,

where, with all his art, he would find it no easy matter to produce that *manner of reasoning*, he has ascribed to it; for most of the facts hinted at, in our author's extract from it, were *posterior* to the writing of that work, and therefore could not be mentioned in it: nay so far is the legate from complaining of being *outlawed*, as Mr. P. says, that he tells the King, in another part of this very work, that nothing but an irresistible impulse compelled him to reproach him, for that though the King, "at this very time was persecuting others of the same sentiments with himself, he was yet encouraging his studies." But, however, as they were the sentiments of Pole, and what (afterwards) *in his letters* P. 179. and other works, he alleges as the motives of his conduct, we will let it pass with observing, that Pole, like all other rebels, justified his treasonable practices, by accusing the King of violating the original contract. P. 178. But how the Pope's supremacy is any part of this original contract, or was included in the rights and immunities of the church, secured by the grand charter, is a point which still remains to be proved. The

Qui hoc ipso tempore, quo alios, qui eandem quam ego sententiam defendunt, acerrime insectatur, mea studia benignitate sua fovet.

De Unit. L. 4. p. 84.

grand charter does indeed enact, that *the church of England* should be free; but not a word is there mentioned of the Pope, or his power; and his *supremacy* was ever deemed an *yoke of slavery*, both on the people and church of *England*. And moreover the Pope looked upon this *charter* as so detrimental to his interest, that he condemned, and published a *bull* against it; and, out of the plenitude of his power, absolved the weak King, who had signed this, and the other charter of the forest, from the oath he had taken to observe them.

Mr. P, to add greater weight to the representation he hath made of *Pole's* embassy, is pleased to tell his reader, that the cardinal gave an account of his behaviour, P. 179. *through the whole negotiation, first to cardinal Pio,—and afterwards to Edward VI.*
P. 180. *These documents, he adds, were made public when the affair was recent; and from not being contradicted, we are to suppose them to be true. But here unfortunately our biographer differs from Quirini,*² *who says that none of the documents, relating to this embassy, were made public, except Pole's letters of credence from the Pope to the so-*

¹ *Echard's hist. of England, v. i. p. 254. Rapin, v. i. p. 277.*

² *Quirini, v. 2. Prefatio, p. 31, & p. cclxvii, &c. inter Monum. Prelim.*

vereigns above-mentioned, and to the cardinal of *Liege*, and a letter to *Pole* himself, and another to the King of the *Romans* from his holiness; which were some years after inserted in *Raynaldus's* annals. And with regard to the letter to *Edward VI.* Mr. *P.* himself, in another place, tells us, that it was first made public by professor *Schelborn*, in 1737: and, besides, he doubteth whether ever it reached *the prince, to whom it was addressed.* Is he sure it was ever sent him? however, as none of the documents were made public, when the affair was recent, neither the ministers of *Henry*, or of *Edward*, could possibly have detected and exposed misrepresentations, or impostures of any kind. We will venture however to say, the former would have rejoiced, had any of these precious documents, preserved by *Quirini*, and referred to by Mr. *P.* fallen into their hands: they would undoubtedly, for their own sake, have made them public; and attempted no other vindication of their proceedings against the seditious and treasonable writer of them.

I will not deny (says the legate, with his artless freedom, as it is called, to *Edward VI.*) but that, if offices of persuasion and friendship were to no effect, I then advised them, (i. e. the powerful princes he was sent to) to employ threats, and to break off all intercourse and communication with *Henry.*

P. 184. And yet we are required to believe, *with how little justice he has been accused of hatred to his prince, and making use of all arts to distress him.* If so, what may we not believe? A little cant and dissimulation will sanctify any outrageous action: and the villain, who stabs his friend, may be said to do it, out of mere love and kindness. *Quirini* does indeed condescend to say, that *Pole* said, and did all this, not out of *hatred* to his prince, but out of *duty* to the Pope, as his *legate*, and as representing his person. As this is the best apology, which the friends of *Pole* can make for his conduct, they are welcome to make the most of it they can, and to try how far it will mitigate the crime of such high offences.

P. 184,
185.

To enhance the personal merit of *Pole's* character, we are next told of a letter, *wrote to him on the part of both houses of parliament, and that . . . each of the members of this illustrious body put their name to*

I Quicunque Polus in iis legationibus adversus Henricum molitus fuerit, pro injuncto sibi a Paulo pontifice legati munere, fideliter molitum fuisse, ac proinde ex ea causa non Vatiniani odii culpam, sed integræ & sacræ fidei laudem promeruisse. Non erat prorsus, cur odii illius invidia in eum caderet, qui in iis legationibus non propriam, sed Principis sui personam representabat.

Quirini, v. 2. Ep. alt. Schelhornii cum animad. p. xiv.

it.

Nothing

it. If this was really the case, greater attention was shewed to *Pole*, than he deserved; and his ingratitude and obstinacy, in proceeding on his legation, so contrary to their request, is the more apparent. That such a letter might be subscribed by some of the members of both houses, and sent to *Pole*, is probable enough: we will not call his veracity in question, since he so solemnly appeals to it; but then it was done as a *private*, not a *parliamentary* act; for so singular and uncommon a mark of respect, and coming from *the whole body*, could not have escaped the notice of our historians; who are totally silent about it. The private friends of *Pole*, in each house, might endeavour to reclaim him by such an instance of their regard; and his own vanity might induce him to reckon it, *the public act of the whole parliament*.

I *Collier*, *Burnet*, *Strype*, *Fuller*, *Godwin*, *Hume*, *Stow*, *Herbert*, *Carte*, *Rapin*, *Echard*, *Wood* and *Baker*, do none of them say a word of any such public letter. *Beccatelli*, *Dudithius*, *Gratiani*, and *Sanders* are silent about it. Neither does Mr. *Dod*, in the long account of *Pole* inserted (p. 472, &c.) in his church-history, take any notice of it, though, besides other authorities, he refers to a MS. of *Pinning*, the cardinal's secretary, reserved in *Doway* college. — The Journals of the house of lords, which begin in the first year of *Henry VIII.* mention no such act: those of the house of commons do not extend farther than the reign of *Edward VI.*

Nothing

- P. 193. Nothing, however, could stop our religious adventurer. But alas! in the entrance almost of his journey, an *unexpected* turn of affairs happened, which seemed to disconcert all his measures with respect to
- P. 192. *England*. The incident, here hinted at, was the defeat of the insurgents, whose cause he was so solicitous to serve, and on
- P. 191. whose success, every thing depended. But these were only the forerunners of still more mortifying events. The King of France, and the Emperour, would not admit him to their presence; and excluded him from
- P. 197. *their dominions*.

After this repeated disappointment, our zealous legate retreated in disgrace and chagrin, and for some time took up his lodgings at *Cambray*; from whence he wrote that dispatch to the Pope, which Mr. P, with his usual embellishment, tells us his holiness admired as a model on which public persons might form their manner of writing; that is, he recommended it to his grandson, cardinal *Farnese*, for his imitation.¹ This was enough to set *Quirini* on: he,

¹ Pontifex summopere laudavit epistolam tuam, quam confestim legendam misit, cardinali Farnesio, nepoti suo, ut sibi exemplum habeat, ad cuius instar possit animum, & bonis literis colere, & eximiis etiam virtutibus ac praesertim christiane pietati inherere.

Contareni, ep. Polo. Quirini, v. 2. p. 70.

good man, goes much farther; and does not scruple to maintain, *that Pole wrote this dispatch, especially the latter part of it, under the immediate influence of the Holy Ghost.*¹ Such is Quirini's nauseous incense! Whilst our ecclesiastical ambassador was at this place, had our biographer vouchsafed to have consulted our historians, he would have found that some of them have preserved a memorable letter which Pole wrote from thence to Cromwell, complaining of the King's behaviour, and his own attainder²; but as if every thing he could do was right, wholly omitting the gross and unpardonable provocations he had given his sovereign. But saints never are, or own themselves, in fault.

From hence, our unsuccessful legate went to Liege; where, *though all the functions of* P. 203. *the minister were locked up, — the man never appeared in a more amiable and instructive light. The virtues of his domestic life must not be passed by unnoticed; our biographer therefore obliges us, from Quirini, with a relation of his daily employment, which was such, he says, that the pomp and* P. 205, *ostentation of that court, which persecuted him,*

1 — *Ipsa scribenti Polo spiritus sanctus, cujus proinde habitaculum foret illius pectus, dictasse consendus est.*

Quirini, v. 2. Diatriba, p. LXXII.

2 Strype's Memorials, v. 1. p. 301, and App. p. 218. Burnet, v. 3. p. 129. Records, p. 469. Collier, v. 2. p. 137.

was effaced by the shades and by-paths of his retirements. This account, of the manner of Pole's spending his time, giveth the impartial Mr. P, by the help of his master, an opportunity of aspersing the memory of Luther and his reforming companions at Smalcald, by producing the authority of so unexceptionable a voucher, as John Cochley. But here, we except against the testimony of this voucher: we look upon him in the same light, as we do upon Nicholas Sanders; as little better than a common liar, caring little what he said, so he could but fasten some *odium* upon the heretics. Our author, to support the testimony of Cochley, and to vouch for his character, has summoned the very respectable Thuanus as speaking well of him; but here, according to his usual fairness, he has wilfully omitted a very material part of his evidence, where he speaks of him as *vehement in controversy*.³ Agreeably to this description, we are informed by another writer of that communion, "that Cochley was the person that entered the lists ofteneft against the Lutherans. — Were it not for that reason he would not be so much as known: and all that we know of his life is, that for

¹ Quirini, v. 2. Diat. p. cv, & p. cvi.

² See p. 4. and p. 171.

³ *Præterea acer in disputando.* Thuan. l. 11. A. D. 1552.

“ the space of 30 years, — viz. from 1521
 “ to 1550, his fruitful pen produced every
 “ year more than one treatise against
 “ them. — In his treatises of controversy,”
 he adds, “ there is a great mixture of po-
 “ liticks and personal matters. He some-
 “ times makes use of hard words and
 “ bitter invectives against *Luther* and the
 “ other hereticks. — He was a rigid de-
 “ fender of the doctrines and customs of
 “ the church, a declared enemy to all ac-
 “ commodations, by which any thing of
 “ the rigour was to be remitted.”¹ This
 is the character of Mr. *P*’s *unexceptionable*
voucher. *Luther*, though he was ever
 provoked by him, yet despised him so
 much, that he would not condescend to
 reply to so teizing and insignificant an ad-
 versary, having found by experience that
 no reasoning could convince him.²

Acrimonious reflections naturally fall
 from the pens of such prostitute and bi-
 gotted writers: but how basely false and
 scandalous they are in the article before us,
 will appear at first view, when we consider
 what *Luther* and his reforming companions
 at *Smalcald*, were really doing. They met

¹ Dupin, *eccles. hist.* 16 cent. part 1, p. 456, 466.

² Cochleio, *non est ut respondeatur, cum aliis simus oc-
 cupati melioribus, & ejusmodi libri per se pereant, quotidie
 multi.* *Lutheri ep.* v. 2. p. 183, cited by Seckendorf,
 B. 1. p. 315.

(we are told by those who knew more of the matter, than Mr. *P*, or his *voucher*) clergy and princes, to consult what answer should be given to the Pope, who had summoned a council to be held at *Mantua*; when the articles called, from the place, the *Smalcaldic* articles, were agreed to, signed, and published, which contained their opinions of all those important points, which were at that time the subject of controversy. They had also conferences with the Emperor's ambassador, upon the state of affairs in *Germany*. "And moreover
 " that all men might understand the reasonableness of their proceedings, and the
 " grounds upon which they refused the
 " council, they thought it convenient to
 " set them down in writing, which paper
 " they afterwards published in print."

P. 205. This was pretty good employment, and more serviceable to the cause of religion than the shades and by-paths of the legate's retirements: or his evening-walks on the banks of the *Maese*. And though it was beyond *Cochley's* abilities to refute what those reforming divines published, he found it easy to calumniate; and has passed in effect the same sentence upon them, which

I *Sleidan*, B. II. p. 226, &c. *Seckendorf*, B. 3. p. 150---157. *Burnet*, v. 3. p. 113---116 *Records*, p. 443---456.

the

the apostles, their predecessors, met with from the mockers of their days, these *men are full of new wine*; and with equal truth. Mr. P, because he found it in *Quirini*, hath adopted this wicked calumny; and must answer for it, as the retailer of party violence and defamation.

The cardinal of *Liege's* civilities to our spiritual rambler, gave occasion to our biographer, to trace out, what he calls, *a* P. 209. *short sketch of that prince's character*: to elucidate which, as being a little exaggerated, we also will beg leave to add an anecdote or two, related by a cotemporary P. 206. *author, who had every opportunity of being informed of it; and who is, upon all occasions, allowed by Thuanus, to be an unexceptionable voucher.* From *Sleidan*, we learn, “ that none was more severe against “ the reformers than this cardinal.” The *very sumptuous memorial of himself, which* P. 210. *he erected some years before his death, served equally to display his magnificence and his folly; which were rendered still more conspicuous, “ by his having those funeral “ dirges and ceremonies, which the Pa- “ pists use for the dead, performed anni- “ versarily for him; imagining that those “ services of the priests, which they ac- “ count meritorious, and believe eternal*

“ life is due to them, would do him most
 “ good when he was alive. But those
 “ who pretended to know the man more
 “ intimately, said he did all this, out of a
 “ spirit of vanity, because his ambitious
 “ humour was pleased with the solemnity
 “ of the office.”¹ A greater instance of a
 vain-glorious and empty mind need not be
 desired.

P. 145. We shall conclude this section, by ex-
 pressing our admiration, that *Pole*, who is
 so ready, upon all occasions, to appeal to
 the judgments of providence, and so pre-
 sumptuously to apply them to himself,
 should acknowledge none of these interpo-
 sitions, when he perceived his spiritual pe-
 regrinations, though undertaken, as he fre-
 quently expressed himself, for the cause of
 Christ, were² rendered so unsuccessful;
 and that his return to *Rome*, the capital of
 the Christian world, and the centre of reli-
 gion, was attended with such shame and
 confusion.

¹ Sleidan, B. 12. p. 240.

² *Legatus vicarii Christi, Christi causa. Poli ep. Ro-*
dulpho Pio, cardinali Carpenfi. Quirini, v. 2. ep. p. 35.
Mea legatio Christi causa suscepta. Ep. Poli Camillo Ur-
sino. Ibid. p. 128, &c. &c.

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE FOURTH.

PO L E's legantine commission having been rendered fruitless, and the several insurrections in *England* being quelled; which, as it always happens when such attempts fail of success, only strengthened that government, they were designed to overthrow: Henry, having now no apprehensions of disturbance from any quarter, found himself at leisure to pursue some further regulations, which the disconcerted schemes of his enemies enabled him to prosecute without interruption. Several of the monastic profession having been too hasty and imprudent in encouraging the late tumults, and the rebels having demanded the restoration of the ejected of that order, as one of the principal grievances to be redressed; the monks had reason to fear, that exasperated and triumphant power would call them to account for their ill-timed zeal.

R

The

The King's power and influence was visible, in those monasteries which were already dissolved: and the late behaviour of the professed had given him the fairest opportunity to eradicate the remainder. His experience had convinced him, that so long as any of that order were left, he should find them as troublesome to him, as they had been to any of his predecessors; and that they could not well be looked upon in any other light, than "as a body of reserve for the Pope, and always ready to appear in his quarrels, and support his claims."

The entire extirpation of the religious houses being determined, the King proceeded in the same method in the suppression of those which were left, as he had done with those which were dissolved before, viz. by a visitation of them, and by parliamentary authority. This occasions what is not to be marvelled at at all, a fresh discharge of our author's bitterness against *Henry*. The interest of the *Romish* church was hurt: and its adherents may be allowed to murmur. But here, we cannot help wishing, that Mr. P. had been honest at the same time, and not taken to himself the honour of the reflections he makes upon this subject. In his account of the dis-

solution of the lesser monasteries, he had been greatly obliged to Mr. *Dod*, the popish church historian, without making him any acknowledgment: in the present narration of the fall of the greater ones, he is still more obliged to him; but with the same paltry disingenuity, he industriously concealeth the kind collector of his materials: and though *every one* of his references are plainly taken from Mr. *Dod*, yet is he never named. Thus does our author, with his usual art and freedom, assume to himself the credit of another person's labours. Neither of them however have much to boast of, in the article before us; for *Collier*, in his ecclesiastical history, had prepared every thing for them: it was but copying, and referring to him;

So implicitly does our author rely upon Mr. *Dod*, that he even copies his blunders; and to prove, that the *King's passions ran so strong for a dissolution, that he could scarce endure the report of a fair character given to the religious*, (p. 213) he refers us to *Giffard's*, one of the commissioners, letter to *Cromwell*, without saying where that letter is to be met with. It is true, Mr. *Dod*, by the manner in which he hath cited these words, (p. 108) might lead him into this mistake: but if Mr. *P.* had consulted *Collier* himself, he would have found, that these are, not *Giffard's* words, but *Collier's* reflections upon his unsuccessful application in behalf of the priory of *Woolstrop*.

Eccles. hist. v. 2. p. 156.

R 2 and

and then their impartiality could not be questioned.

P. 219. But *Henry's* accumulated guilt, in this dissolution of monkery, must be clear and allowed; for we are told, that *had the monks been heard in their own cause, they could not have pleaded it with greater energy than protestant writers have done it for them, on the evidence of facts, and from a principle which will do honour to their writings, whilst equity and the lingering spirit of religion has yet applause in Britain.* As if religion had really suffered, by the extirpation of such sort of houses. Let us see then, what these *fair reasoners* have to plead in their behalf; and, whether their authorities are *fairly* produced.

Mr. P, and the defenders of the monasteries, have urged many arguments, from the excellency or piety of the state itself, from the numbers of the professed, and their revenues; which, however specious they might formerly appear, have, by length of time, lost all their weight; and may rather be deemed unanswerable objections against them. The riches of a state are the number and increase of its subjects. Now our writer, speaking of the number of those who were *dispossessed* out of the greater monasteries only, computes them to amount to *some hundred thousand*

P. 218.

thousand persons. Mr. *Dod* indeed is more moderate: he only says, “so many thousands.”¹ And this being exclusive of the secular and parochial clergy: when they are reckoned, with those belonging to the other *establisments or lesser tenements of the* P. 337. *like import*, the number of those prohibited from matrimony must amount to an amazing body of people; who were so far from contributing to the support of the government, “that the kingdom itself from this
 “redundancy of its defenceless members,
 “might be so exhausted of its strength,
 “as to be incapable of protecting or securing itself from insurrections or invasions.”² Tho’ this is only a political inconvenience: yet if considered, even in a religious light, the very nature of these institutions will be found as much unnecessary to the promotion of true piety, as they were detrimental to the good of society.

It is easy to harangue upon the benefits of a retired, contemplative life, free from the cares, and detached from the love, of the world. But surely the man, who, in active and social life, lets *his light shine before men*; displays the beauty and perfection of religion to nobler purposes, than when it is confined in the heart of a soli-

¹ *Dod*, church hist. v. i. p. 110.

² *Candidus*, letter IX.

tary devotee : and the good husband, parent, master, and magistrate, is of more real benefit to the world by this exertion of his faculties ; and is doing his duty to God, to greater advantage to others, to greater comfort to himself, and to greater honour to religion, than if he had hid his talent in the cloisters of a monastery, or the cave of an hermit. Such a man, by communicating his goodness, does more service to the cause of religion, than if a recluse piety had kept him employed in counting his beads, tormenting his body, and submitting to those absurd, ridiculous, and uncommanded observances, which belong not to religion. The freeing therefore such numbers from this constrained, formal, outward devotion, and obliging them to become useful and active members of society ; and the demolishing such nurseries of idleness and spiritual servitude (however it might be accompanied, as before, with too many acts of personal rapine and injustice) were yet, in their consequences, beneficial to religion and the state ; and may well be justified, upon the soundest principles of each.

The revenues which, by the piety or rather superstition of our ancestors, had been bestowed upon these communities, are urged, to enhance the guilt of their dissolution. We are told, that they were
confe-

consecrations made to the Supreme Being, of P. 218.
a real and perpetual nature, and were, as it
were, vested in him. But perhaps it may
 be difficult to prove, that such foundations
 were any otherwise consecrated to religion,
 than alms-houses and hospitals may be said
 to be. If the institution of the monastic
 state did not advance the end of religion,
 its endowments could scarce be said to be
 consecrated to God. In some instances, we
 think, the monks themselves were sup-
 ported by continued acts of rapine and sa-
 crilege, when the income of the monastery
 consisted of impropriations; and the paro-
 chial clergy were by that means robbed of
 a maintenance, apparently more conse-
 crated to God, and *vested in him*, than the
 advocates for the monks can pretend to
 allege in favour of their possessions. Surely,
 had the spiritual life been kept up by the
 spiritual state, those good souls would not
 have enriched themselves at the expence of
 the church; and, out of their boundless
 generosity and piety, have starved the pa-
 rish priest, by the scandalous pittance al-
 lotted for the service of the cure.

But the monks need not be envied: *their* P. 214.
possessions, it is said, did not exceed one twen-
tieth part of the national revenue; a sum
much below what a design to destroy them,
first gave out, and credulity has still retained.
 And were they really as low, as they are

put here, the legislature might have sufficient reasons to extirpate such obstructions to religion, and such nuisances to society. But the fact is not true : the estates, belonging to these religious houses, were considerably larger, than the credulous Mr. *P.* is aware of. *Collier* himself owns, “ that
 “ the revenues of the abbies were some-
 “ times undervalued by the visitors
 “ and therefore,” says he, “ in all likeli-
 “ hood, upon rack rents and modern com-
 “ putation, the lands would rise to near
 “ twenty times as much.” And Mr. *Stevens*, in his history of taxes, who seems to have considered this point with great accuracy, (whose calculation is supposed to be drawn from the last leases these houses granted) has demonstrated, that they possessed a much greater proportion to the national revenue, than Mr. *P.* thinks of.
 “ Their reserved rents were indeed but
 “ low, but the fines, which are here
 P. 222. “ dropped, and in another place called *easy*,
 “ made up nine parts in ten of their in-
 “ comes, and bore no inconsiderable share
 “ in their annual profits ; the lands only
 “ of two of the abbies are worth at this
 “ time 500,000 *l.* a year ; and if these e-
 “ states were worth, at the time of their
 “ dissolution, but a fourth part of what
 “ *Collier*, v. 2. p. 165. they

“ they are at present, yet the yearly value
 “ of only these two, would not fall much
 “ short of what our author makes the in-
 “ come of the whole 700 amount to.”

But be this as it may be: their revenues, more or less, do not affect either the crime of their destroyers, or the merit of such houses. Their whole institution was founded in fanaticism; and was encouraged to the hurt of the state, by not only preventing amazing numbers of both sexes from contributing (in a lawful and honourable way) to the increase of the community, but also by being a continual supply of factious, restless, and devoted zealots to the foreign power and influence of the bishops of *Rome*; whom they looked upon, in our writer's language, as the *interpreters* of ^{P. 218.} *God's will, and the delegates of his power.*

We are informed, that *an act of parlia-* ^{P. 217.} *ment was framed, to remove scruples, and settle rapine and sacrilege, as lord Herbert terms them, on the King and his heirs for*

Candidus, letter X, citing *Stevens's* history of taxes. Some compute, the lands taken from the monasteries, at twenty years purchase, would amount at this present time, to thirty millions, five hundred and three thousand, four hundred pounds. Those formerly belonging to the abbey of *St. Albans*, being worth at this day about 200,000 pounds a year, and those that belonged to *Glastonbury* abbey above 300,000 pounds yearly. *Vid. Rapin*, v. 1. p. 823, note, from *Stevens's* history of taxes, p. 188---216.

ever.

ever. But where does his lordship say this? *Dod,*¹ and *Collier,*² did not authorise Mr. P. to speak so peremptorily. They cite him honestly, as declaring only, “ that some called “ it rapine and sacrilege, which,” says he, “ I will no way excuse.” But what does he say farther? Let him speak for himself, and answer this objection of rapine and sacrilege. “ Though I may say truly, that “ notwithstanding so many religious houses “ were destroyed, there are yet in every “ kind, (the suppressed ones excepted) left “ standing so many, as give no little increase to learning, splendor to religion, “ and testimony of charity to the poor. So “ that altho’ I cannot but pity the ruin of “ them, as affording a singular conveniency “ to an holy, pious, and contemplative “ life, *when abuses were taken away*, yet “ We are not destitute of many “ monuments of devotion: of which also “ our King had such regard . . . for he “ not only augmented the number of colleges and professors in his universities, “ but erected . . . out of the revenues gotten hereby, divers new bishoprics “ Besides many of the cathedral churches, “ formerly possessed by monks only, were “ now supplied with canons, and new ones

¹ Church history, v. 1. p. 114. Note.

² Eccles. hist. v. 2. p. 165.

“ enacted

“ enacted and endowed So that re-
 “ ligious seemed not so much to suffer here-
 “ by, *as some of the clergy, of those times and*
 “ *ours would have it believed:* our kingdom
 “ having, . . . instead of divers supernume-
 “ rary and idle persons, maintained by ab-
 “ bies and chantries, men fit for employ-
 “ ment; so that the desolations . . . are by
 “ our politicks thought amply recom-
 “ pensed.” So far is this noble historian
 from calling this dissolution, *rapine and sa-*
crilege, that he thinketh favourably of it;
 and that the very institution of those reli-
 gious houses was abundantly compensated
 by others, of an infinitely more beneficial
 nature to church and state.

But *those fair reasoners, the protestant* P. 219.
writers, have pleaded so honourably for
 these institutions, that it seems, *the monks*
could not have done it with greater energy.
 The monks would have done it but poorly
 then; and destroyed, by one argument,
 what they supported by another. And how
 have they defended them? They have con-
 sidered these houses as a provision for the
 younger children of great families, and as
 places for the education of youth of both
 sexes. Now had there been, after this
 dissolution, no possible way of providing P. 219.
for such younger children, and securing the

perpetuity of the family estate, but by depriving them of the comforts of social life, and forcing them into a monastery; the parliament would not have come so easily into *Henry's* scheme. But they might wisely consider, that their younger children were likely to do much better in the world, when a turn was given them for business and action; and that the army, the court, and the law, might give them opportunities of raising a fortune, which might in time perhaps equal, if not exceed that, which belonged to the elder branch of the family. And if *they were disposed to retire from the world*, there was the church still ready to receive them: and the power and influence of their friends might procure them good preferments, *and an establishment for life suited to the rank their family held.*

P. 219.

The abbies, it is also urged in their favour, *were public schools for education*: but this was foreign to their institution, and therefore should not be named amongst the necessary advantages of them. But how little of useful knowledge could be acquired in these kinds of *schools*, we learn from the most unexceptionable authority, from the testimony of *Erasmus*, that best judge of literary merit and improvement: from him we are informed, that, not the learned languages, but the quibbles of scholastic divinity, were solely cultivated by the
monastic

monastic preceptors.* However, to remedy any inconvenience or complaint, that might arise from this quarter, there were a great number of free-schools founded in many places of the kingdom, within the compass of a few years, both by royal and private benefactors. And the nation reaped inconceivable advantage from that manly and spirited turn, which a freer intercourse in public life afforded the youth of it; and from that store of real and polite literature cultivated, not by the monks, but by the penetrating genius of those superiour minds, whose amazing abilities, and extensive erudition (engaged in the improvement of every branch of true science and philosophy) opened those treasures, which the monks were utterly ignorant of; and, for fear of being counted heretics, dared not even attempt to attain unto. It was this liberal and enlarged way of thinking, which so insensibly promoted the reformation, and exposed the former plan of education.

In his (sc. monasteriis) adolescentes, vix trimestri studio grammaticæ dato, protinus rapiuntur, ad sophisticen, dialecticen, suppositiones, ampliaciones, restrictiones, expositiones, resolutiones ad gryphos, & quæstionum labyrinthos, hinc recta in adyta theologiæ. Tales, ubi ventum est ad eos autores qui utriusque linguæ facundia præcelluerunt, Deum immortalem! ut cæcutiunt, ut delirant, ut sibi videntur in alio prorsus esse mundo

Eras. dial. de pronunciatione, p. 770. v. i. ed. Basil.

The

P. 220. The service the monasteries were of *in promoting a general literary improvement,*

P. 222.

in preserving records, and being the repositories of learning, is another plea in their behalf. This is saying but little for them: the houses might be receptacles of learning, whilst the inhabitants neglected it, *or understood nothing of the value of what their repositories contained.* Erasmus, who knew them well, has told a tale, which should make the advocates of the monks blush, when they presume to talk, in this manner, of their *promoting a general literary improvement.* It would be strange indeed, if, amongst such numbers, many did not make good use of the advantages of retirement and books. But did learning sink with the dissolution of the abbies? and have not succeeding times produced those, and in much greater numbers, who have done honour to themselves and their country by their writings, though not brought up in a cloister?

So fatal, however, was the fall of these houses to literature, that we are further

Latitant in collegiis ac monasteriis Germanorum, Gallorum, & Anglorum, per vetusti codices; quos, exceptis paucis, adeo non communicant ultro, ut rogati vel celebant, vel pernegent, vel iniquo pretio vendunt, usum decuplo aestimatorum codicum: tandem pulchre servatos, vel caries tineæque corrumpunt, vel fures auferunt.

Eras. ep. edit. 1542, p. 355. cited in Knight's life of Colet, p. 25.

told,

told, from the Oxford historian, that, *where-* P. 220.
as there were, in those times, near 300 halls
and private schools in Oxford, besides the
colleges, there were not above eight remain-
ing towards the middle of the last century.
 But *Wood* does not mean, there were so
 many remaining at the dissolution of the
 monasteries; for long before that time,
 they had been lost and swallowed up in
 colleges, many of which were built upon
 the very site of these halls. And what
 these were, he tells us in another part of
 the same book, that they were neither more
 nor less, *than lodging-houses hired by the*
students. *Brian Twyne*, an abler man, and
 a better antiquarian, than *Mr. Wood*, says
 the same thing: he reduces them to 200;
 and enumerates about 180 of them, descri-
 bing where they were situated, and in what
 colleges they were absorbed.¹ For when
 the latter were built and increased, the
 scholars had no occasion to lodge in town-
 mens houses: though it is true, that the
 ruin of the monasteries did greatly lessen

¹ *Atque hæc (sc. aulæ) sane . . . uti & prisca quævis*
nostra musarum habitacula, tenementa primitus oppidano-
rum erant, pretio annuo academicis elocata. *Wood hist.*
& antiq. Oxon. L. 2. p. 338.

² *Aulæ, revera ædes erant burgensium certo pretio con-*
ductæ. *Antiq. acad. Oxon. Apologia.* L. 3. p. 381.
De antiquis aulis & studentium collegiis. — And the Ap-
 pendix throughout.

P. 220. the number of students, and obliged many to *apply their time and industry, to what would be more to their advantage*, and the benefit of the state. The universities had been then, for a long time, upon the same footing they have continued ever since: and it does not appear, that any one secular college or hall (many of the latter being little better than grammar schools) shared any part of that ruin, which befel the religious houses. “So far was the King,” says *Collier*, “from lessening those famous seminaries of piety and learning, that he rather promoted their interests.”

P. xx. From this imaginary loss to literature, Mr. P. takes occasion *to trace out* (what he calls in his table of contents) *the state of learning* from this period *to the reign of Charles the second*. It is difficult to say, what could occasion the digression of this paragraph. Certain it is, the promoters of the reformation, in our kingdom, were, for the most part, persons of astonishing erudition: their knowledge indeed lay more in the original language of the SS, in the earliest writers of the church, and in cultivating the powers of reason and philosophy, than in *St. Thomas*, and the decretals. Many of them also distinguished themselves in a politer way, the knowledge

¹ *Collier*, eccles. hist. v. 2. p. 209.

of the classics and *belles-lettres*; and their writings are as pure as any of the *Augustan age*: whilst not a few of their opponents, disdaining these advantages, rested satisfied with the jargon of scholastic divinity, and the glosses of their modern doctors. But never, surely, was so unfortunate and improper an epithet, as *quaint conceits*, applied before, for the general character or criterion of learning in Queen *Elizabeth's* days: that *epoch* (to borrow a favourite word from our author) *was marked*, in a very conspicuous manner, by a long list of heroes, in every sense of the word, whose deep learning, solid sense, manly genius, and the exertion of every active faculty, raised the glory and reputation of the kingdom to an height unknown before; whilst *quaint conceits*, and puns, distinguished the *pedant reign* of the succeeding prince.

After this little spurt of criticism, the cause of the monks is again taken in hand; and we are confidently told, that, *while the religious houses subsisted, there were no provisions made by parliament to relieve the poor, no assessment on the parish for that purpose; but, at present, this charge on the kingdom, amounts, by a low computation, to above 800,000 pounds.* If it did so in *Collier's* time, who is the original author of all this intelligence, it must rise to a much greater amount now. But what

S

if

if this be a vague and false assertion? There is great reason to suspect, that these houses were not so munificent. We have before observed, that one motive alleged, at the dissolution of the alien priories, was, *that the poor might be better maintained*; and there were, moreover, several particular *acts of parliament* passed for the relief of the poor, at different times, to oblige these very houses to aid the poor in proportion to their income: from whence it is easy and natural to conjecture, that they were not so liberal and bountiful of their alms, as Mr. P. and his informants, would persuade us. So that, as *Candidus* well and truly observes, “the nation neither got
“nor lost any thing, in this respect, by
“the suppression of the monasteries, only
“the mendicant trade was reduced, industry encouraged, the poor better provided for, and the nation more equally
“taxed.”²

P. 223,
224.

On these considerations, proceedeth our author, one of our historians asserts, that it would be but an act of common justice, to give the generality of protestants a more favourable opinion of monasteries. Upon what considerations? the hospitality and charity

¹ Viz. 15 Richard the 2^d. 4 Henry the 4th. 39 Henry the 6th, and two or three in Henry the 7th's reign, mentioned by *Candidus*, letter XII.

² Letter XII.

of

of these houses; for that he is speaking of, in this paragraph, and hath referred us, to prove this, to a place in *Fuller*,¹ where he is lamenting the plunder and the waste made of their books; which our author backeth by a corroborating evidence, as he thinketh, from bishop *Tanner*'s preface to his *Notitia Monastica*, wherein his chief purport is to shew, that monasteries were the repositories of learning; neither of them, in the places appealed to, touching upon the charity of these houses: nor did Mr. *Dod* cite them for that purpose: but Mr. *P*'s accurate eye caught them in the same page, and he was determined they should vouch as he wanted them.

In one respect, it was prudent he did not consult *Tanner* himself; he would hardly have quoted him with such eagerness else: for though it was to be expected from one who was writing the account of religious houses, to say, with other antiquarians, every thing he could honestly in their favour, yet he owns, “ that these institutions were abused from their original foundation, and that he did not in the least intend to vindicate the superstitions and the vices of the monks:” and then addeth, immediately after the passage produced by our author, this reflection; “ and

¹ *Fuller*, eccles. hist. b. 6. p. 335.

“ indeed considering the provisions that
 “ are made in the universities, for the en-
 “ couragement and attainment of learn-
 “ ing; and the many hospitals, that have
 “ been built since the reformation, for the
 “ relief of the poor, there is less reason to
 “ lament their loss.”¹ This is *Tanner’s*
 testimony.

P. 224. But now our writer takes a bolder flight:
 and national and personal *calamities* are ex-
 hibited, *as so many indications of a provoked*
and avenging God. What the national
 calamities were *which trod on the heels of*
this iniquity, we are at a loss to know;
 for Mr. P. will hardly reckon the cruel
 tyranny of *Queen Mary’s* reign as any mis-
 fortune to the kingdom. *Fuller*, the au-
 thority appealed to, says nothing like it;
 he says “ some conceive — yea papists would
 “ persuade us, that such possessions are un-
 “ successful, and will ruin their proprietors,
 “ till restored to their proper owners: for
 “ mine own part,” says he, — “ I wish to
 “ all lawfully possessed of them, that they
 “ may peaceably and prosperously enjoy
 “ them, *et nati natorum, et qui nascuntur*
 “ *ab illis!*”² As to *Spelman’s* observation,
 it is unfair to confine the judgments of
 God to one county, when the whole

¹ Preface to the *Notitia Monastica*, p. 3. 1st ed. 8vo.

² *Fuller*, church hist. b. 6. p. 370.

kingdom was equally involved in the same guilt. Did these estates alone subject their purchasers to the divine displeasure, and no others go from one family to another, there would be more probability in the conjecture. The curses of the *Romish* church, for this pretended sacrilege, took no effect: some of the abbey lands continue to this day in the same families, who purchased, or obtained them at the first; and those, who have been later proprietors of them have been no more sufferers than their former owners.

The day, also, which gave commencement P. 224. *to this crime was thought ominous.* How so? why, it seems, some weak and superstitious persons, 100 years after, wanted a parliament summoned to meet, in Charles the Ist's time, upon the 3d of November, to be adjourned for a short time, it being the P. 224. *same day on which the legislature, in Henry the VIIIth's reign, began the dissolution of religious houses.* There is no accounting for the whims of some people; but whoever gave this reason for the adjournment of the long parliament, sufficiently shewed their folly, and their ignorance too; for the parliament, which *began the dissolution of religious houses*, met in the month of

1 This piece of intelligence, *Echard* (whose authority is here produced for it) learnt from *Heylin's* life of archbishop *Laud*, p. 458. Ed. 1668.

*February.*¹ Two years indeed before that, there was a parliament, which began on that *ominous day, the 3d. of November*; wherein the Pope's authority was abrogated, and the supremacy of the crown established.² And from this day, says Mr. P.

P. 224. *the church of England dates her misfortunes.*

The church was, we grant, afflicted during P. 221, *the madness of the civil wars, and the fanaticism of the commonwealth*; but when order and law were restored, she likewise got over her misfortunes, and recovered her

just rights: and her sons can now reflect, with pleasure, upon the 3d. of November, on which day they were rescued from an intolerable spiritual bondage. They deem it as auspicious to them, as the 5th of the same month; and both, as equally *ominous* to the church of *Rome*.

P. 224. Add to all this, the avenging *anger of heaven*, which was exercised in the many attainders and executions which followed this fall of the monasteries. If this be the method or rule of construing God's judgments, what must we think of the house of *Pole* itself, and many others of the same principles, who opposed this dissolution, and yet fell by the hands of the executioner?

“ So that our author here gives a fair op-

¹ *Stowe's annals*, p. 572.

² *Ibid.* p. 571.

“ opportunity of retaliating judgments upon
 “ them for this opposition :”¹ and the proof
 will be equally striking. This it is, when
 zealots take upon them to account for the
 dispensations of providence : the supersti-
 tious, and the credulous, may give way to
 such weakneses ; but others will reject,
 with horror and disdain, such profane,
 wanton and arbitrary interpretations of the
 divine interposition.

Thus much concerning the dissolution of
 these great excrescencies in church and
 state, the vast number of religious houses.
 There had been examples of this kind be-
 fore,² and of such revenues being applied
 to other uses : which must lessen the odium
 of their present suppression. If history is
 to be credited, the chief of the reformers
 (excepting *Cromwell*) were against it ; tried
 what they could to prevent its being ge-
 neral, or at least to convert the revenues to
 a less exceptionable mode of charity, and to
 make them real and national benefits.
Anne Bullen's interest was sinking, and
 could avail little. “ She, we are told, was
 “ altogether averse to this suppression, and
 “ put *Hugh Latimer* upon preaching a-
 “ gainst it before the King. She likewise

¹ *Candidus*, letter XXII.

² Many instances of this occur in *Tanner's Notitia Monastica*, and in the *Monasticon Hibernicum*.

“ cautioned others of the clergy not to
 “ declaim against the monasteries, and
 “ preach down the institution.”¹ And af-
 ter her decease, what signified the remon-
 strances that *Cranmer*, and the other bi-
 shops of his party, made against it.² It
 was the popish party, which carried this
 point; and the guilt of these actions, in-
 stead of being laid to the charge of the
 men of the *new religion*, as it was falsely
 called, should fall upon those of the *Romish*
persuasion, who were the more immediate
 instruments of this dissolution. The com-
 missioners, except perhaps one or two, were
 all good catholics; and continued still, as
 well as their sovereign, members of the
Romish church, except in the article of the
 Pope’s supremacy. Thus were these houses
 demolished by a popish King, and popish
 commissioners; and a popish parliament,
 with popish bishops consenting, gave a le-
 gal sanction to their proceedings.

But no devastations are more bemoaned
 by our author, than the monastery of *St.*
Austin, and the shrine of *St. Thomas a Becket*
 at *Canterbury*; the former shared (saith
Somner) the common fate of the other re-
 ligious houses; “ whose uncovered walls

¹ *Collier*, v. 2. p. 117.

² V. 2. p. 164. citing *Strype’s* life of *Cranmer*, p.
 72.

“ stood

“ stood so long languishing in time, and
 “ storms of weather, that daily increased
 “ the aspect of her ruins.”¹ Unluckily,
 this does not tally well with that smart ob-
 servation, which Mr. P. has pilfered from
 his own hero, that *the inclosure was laid* P. 226.
waste, and appropriated to wild beasts; and
a palace raised out of the ruins, for some-
*thing still more savage, himself.*² Now, not
 to mention, that Pole was often imposed
 upon in his intelligence of *English* affairs;
 his biographer, however, as the cardinal
 was not often given to pleasantries, should
 not have deprived him of his claim to a
 small joke, especially as it was more witty
 than true; for Somner, who wrote the an-
 tiquities of *Canterbury*, omits these parti-
 culars; though some pages³ are employed
 in describing the ruins and remains of this
 abbey, “ which are now,” says he, “ made
 “ subject to other public uses.”

As to the shrine of St. *Austin*, it had
 been so long obscured by the greater splen-
 dour of *Becket's*, that its virtues, and its
 riches, were nothing in comparison of the

¹ Somner's antiquities of *Canterbury*, p. 60. 1st. ed.
 4to. 1640.

² — *Sibi, & feris domicilium esse voluit, sic enim jus-*
serat vivarium illic fieri, & sibi ex ruinis monasterii pala-
tium ædificari. Poli apologia ad Cæsarem. Sect. xxiv. V
Quirini, v. 1. p. 109.

³ *Antiq. Cant.* p. 60—63.

other. The superstition and the prodigality of the pilgrims centered there, which engrossed not only all their folly, but all their christianity too; and the church wherein it was, though dedicated to Christ, was forced, through the deplorable bigotry of the devotees, to give place to the name of *St. Thomas*; whose altar was loaded with offerings, whilst that of Christ was empty, and had nothing given it.¹ So much had ignorance and credulity excluded every degree of true spiritual piety!

P. 227. The unshrining and unsainting *Thomas a Becket* is aggravated as a most inhuman and unpardonable offence, in *Henry*. I wonder much, the superstition of our writer did not make the loss of *the island of Rhodes*, which, he says, *happened about the same time*, owing to this sin; for he seems, by what he says, not to know well when the *Turks* took that place. Could he think of no nearer event, than this, to contrast with *Henry's* rapine and impiety, which happened no less than 16 years before it? Or would *Pole's nostra ætate, paucis ante annis,*² justify him in rendering it, *about the same time*, when there was an interval of so many years between them? The

¹ P. 248.

² *Poli apologia ad Cæsarem*, Sect. 23.

Quirini, v. 1. p. 104. & v. 2. p. clix.

cardinal,

cardinal, in the vehemence of his zeal, asks, where *Henry* could have learnt this practice of behaving thus to saints departed? and answers himself, by saying, from that cruel tyrant *Herod*, who is supposed to have burnt *John the Baptist's* bones in the same manner as *Henry* did *Becket's*. But this is not clear. And the pious *Pole* needed not to have gone quite so far back: for *Henry* learnt it from the clergy of his own church; from the council of *Albium*, (*Albiense*) who ordered dead heretics to be so served; and from the council of *Constance*, who put that canon in execution, in their condemnation of *Wicliff*; and, lower still, from the chancellor of *Worcester*, who, by order of his superiors, had taken up and burnt the dead body of *Mr. Tracy*, not above 5 or 6 years before saint *Becket's* ashes were disturbed. But notwithstanding *Pole* rages, in his apology to the Emperor, and elsewhere, against *Henry's* impiety and inhumanity; yet he strangely altered his sentiments, when he came into power himself; and chose to follow *Henry's* example, rather than that of the *Turks*: for (as we shall see hereafter) he exercised, without fear or shame, the very same barbarous insults upon the bodies of some departed worthies, who, we think, were better saints than *Becket*.

The character of this prelate is here exhibited as an illustrious *saint, martyr, and* P. 227.
patriot:

patriot : and his life and actions shew that he merited these characters alike. He was a saint from the womb ; and ushered into the world as other saints usually are, with signs and wonders. *Fitz-Stephens*, one of the earliest writers of his life, tells us, that God revealed to his mother the greatness he had predestinated him to, who dreamed in her pregnancy, that she contained a whole cathedral within her womb : and when he was born, the midwife declared, she had lifted up an archbishop from the ground. And again, whilst he lay in the cradle, his mother dreamt she told the nurse, he had no quilt or coverlid ; the nurse insisted upon it he had, but it was so large she could not open it, either in the bed-chamber, the hall, or the street ; in short, it was of such a size, she could not find the end of it, but it seemed to cover more than all *England*.¹ These were omens of his future station and sanctity, which could not be gainfayed.

The occasion of the quarrel between *Becket* and his sovereign, *Henry II.* is well known. There were indeed some smaller ruptures which happened before the great breach, and had already inflamed them against each other. The King wanted to make the clergy amenable to the same laws

¹ *Fitz-Stephens's* life of *Becket*, p. 10. published among *Sparke's Historiæ Anglicanæ scriptores varii*, fol. 1723.

for capital offences, as the laity; the archbishop insisted upon their privilege of being tried in their own courts, and in case of conviction to be degraded, and deprived of their benefices; and then, upon a relapse, (but not before) or fresh breach of the laws, to be tried before the civil magistrate.¹ By this means great enormities had been committed by those, whom the laws could not reach: and the King was informed, that above an hundred of his subjects had been lately murdered by these lawless clerks;² and was offended to find, they had been too favourably dealt with in their own courts.

Fitz-Stephens owns, the two following actions set the King and the archbishop at variance. A clergyman, in the diocese of *Worcester*, had lain with a young woman, and killed her father. The King would have had the offender tried in his courts: the archbishop refused it; and, to prevent his being delivered to the King's officers, ordered his bishop to imprison him. Another clerk had stolen a silver chalice. Him likewise the King was desirous to have tried in the civil courts; but the archbishop degraded him in his; and, *ex abundanti*, to appease the King, burnt him with an hot iron.³ These were surely very in-

¹ *Hoveden*, p. 282.

² *Gul. Newbrig*, l. 2, c. 16.

³ *W. a Stephani*, p. 33.

decent provocations, which thus stopped the exercise of impartial justice.

Not content with this, the archbishop went farther, and took every opportunity to irritate the King, and to push matters to the utmost extremity, saying and unsaying, sometimes promising to give the King satisfaction, then retracting it, till, by his perverse obstinacy, he had wearied every body out. His brother bishops, many of them, thoroughly detested his violent behaviour: and even the Pope endeavoured, or pretended to endeavour, but in vain, to soften his furious spirit, and conciliate matters.

P. 227. How *Becket*, who carried himself with such effrontery to his King, could be called the *guardian of the liberties of his country*, in refusing to obey the laws of it, is what Mr. P. has forgot to prove, any more than that those exemptions, or *immunities* of the clergy from the civil power, *made no less a part of our constitution, than any others contained in the great charter*. We have already taken notice of the steady opposition ever made to papal encroachments, and of *Becket's* reprimand to the bishop of *Chichester*, for exalting that authority.² The King, after this, could not but be astonish-

¹ See the life and epistles of *Becket*, published by *Heribert*, at *Brussels*, 2 vol. 4to. 1682.

² P. 116.

ed, to find that he had changed his principles with his posts. When *the constitutions* (as they are commonly called) of *Clarendon*, wherein the ancient rights and customs of the crown were to be acknowledged, “ which had not yet been committed to writing, being known only by common practice, and usage immemorial, and it was thought proper to specify some of them, to prevent any future dispute upon the subject:” the archbishop alone refused to sign them. And what made this the more provoking was, that, not long before, at *Woodstock*, he had promised the King (chiefly at the instance of the legate, whom the Pope, and the college of cardinals, had sent into *England* to order him to do it²) “ faithfully and sincerely, without any prevarication, to observe them.” Repenting, however, of this promise, when he came to *Clarendon*, he flew back: and it was with the utmost difficulty, that he was at last persuaded to swear, that he would observe the laws of the kingdom, and the customs, which the King said were used in his grandfather’s time. But when they were drawn up in writing, he absolutely refused to put his seal to, or confirm them.³ And when one

¹ *Carte*, v. i. p. 585.

² *Hoveden*, p. 282. *inter scriptores post Bedam*, ed. Savil.

³ *Id. ibid.*

of the indented copies of the constitutions was delivered into his custody, he could not refrain from affronting the King in so gross a manner, that he never could recover his favour any more.¹

What great offence this haughty deportment must give the King and his council, it is easy to imagine. But he was defending the rights of the church, truly! as if that could be done no other way, but by protecting criminals from punishments adequate to their offence, and by trampling on the rights of the crown. Granting, however, that he might have some scruples against receiving *the constitutions of Clarendon*, as imagining, that the Pope's power, and the clergy's privilege, might be infringed by them; though these very exemptions, or privileges, were not inseparable from their order, but originally flowed from, and were granted to them by the crown: ² yet what shall we say to his behaviour the next year, when he was summoned before the King and council at *Northampton*, upon a merely civil account. His outrageous passions broke out there afresh: and he was not ashamed to plead the privilege of his order and dignity, to prevent the payment of his just debts.³ And

¹ *Id. ibid.*

² *Collier, eccl. hist. v. 1. p. 374.*

³ *Carte, v. 1. p. 590, and p. 606. W. de Steph. p. 43.*

to hinder any sentence being pronounced against him, he prohibited the bishops from being his judges; and, with every mark of insolence and vanity, presumed, in direct violation of the laws of the land, to appeal to the Pope in a civil cause. The parliament, resenting this contempt of the laws, declared him guilty of perjury and treason. His pride not permitting him to hear his sentence, the people, as he passed through the hall, sensible of the justice of it, hissed him, calling him traitor, and bad him stay and hear his sentence: "reproaches which he retorted upon some persons of distinction, by calling them *liars, bastards, and scoundrels*. "This intemperate language," as *Carte* observes, "was not very suitable either to the character of an archbishop, the humility of a christian, or the patient temper and spirit of a confessor."

The King plainly appears, in all his actions, to have desired the good of the state, and the equal distribution of justice. The archbishop, whose religion should have taught him to have seconded these good inclinations of his sovereign, was *the man alone* who hindered them from taking effect: and his resentments ever continuing strong, he wrote to the King, and to others, in his exile, *such letters*, as are lasting and clear evidences, not of his *piety* or *humility*, but of his *pride, insolence,*

1 *Hoveden*, p. 283.

2 *Carte*, v. 1. p. 593, 594.

lence, and revenge: and he exerted these violent passions agreeably to the fury of his temper, in endeavouring to set the King of *France*, and his own King, at variance; and in fomenting the petulant resentment of a schismatical antipope,¹ like himself, by his own frowardness persecuted, and banished from home.

Afterwards, when through the wearied good-nature of *Henry*, a reconciliation was proposed and agreed to between him and *Becket*, the latter behaved, at the interview, with such haughtiness and insolence, as disgusted his own friends: and when the King, willing to forget and forgive all former feuds, “freely extended his grace to the clergy who “had followed the archbishop in his exile;”² the haughty prelate, instead of shewing, on his part, the same peaceable inclinations to the King’s adherents, refused to make any such promise. And when he returned into *England*, he came with a mind agitated with the most diabolical passions: and to shew his implacable resentment, and that he was determined to gratify his own furious vehemence, he brought over with him the Pope’s excommunication of some refractory bishops: and to display the inflexible severity of his disposition, he could find no better time or opportunity, than himself in person, and in his own cathedral, and upon *Christmas* day,

¹ *Alex.* 3.

² *Carte*, v. i. p. 625.

solemnly to excommunicate several persons for trivial offences.'

These were indications that his malice, his pride, and his lust of power, were boundless; and that he would drive on as furiously as ever. But his murderers stopped his career; and, though good ought not to be brought about by evil, delivered their country, tho' by a most unjustifiable act, from the man who was the author of its troubles and dissensions. Thus did his turbulent, seditious, revengeful spirit, raise him up enemies of as bad a temper as his own; who carried their resentment to such outrageous and indefensible lengths, as to perpetrate his murder, in an horrid and barbarous manner. And tho' we join heartily with those, who detest the bloody deed; yet, we declare, we see nothing either in his life or death, to deserve the title of saint. We look upon him as a man, driven on, in all his actions, by the impetuosity of his passions, to the most offensive and scandalous excesses; and that he died, not in defence of Christ, or his religion, but from an obstinate stiffness to screen offenders from the laws of the land, which he called, pleading for the laws of God, that is to say, for the tyranny of ecclesiastics, and the usurpations of the Pope. He was therefore not a martyr for Christ, but for the Pope's power.

¹ *W. a Steph.* p. 80. *Hoveden*, p. 298. *Carte*, v. i. p. 630.

And accordingly, some of his most zealous advocates, as if conscious of the weakness of his pretensions to it, contend for his sainthood upon this account. Thus *Stapleton* says frankly enough, “ that it is no more absurd for the Pope to declare him a martyr, who dies for asserting his authority, than if he had been killed for the christian faith.” Nay so meritorious is this, that, a little after, he adds, “ that the cause of this martyrdom was such, as to intitle a man to the name and character of a saint, even though attended with no preceding sanctity of life.”

From the most dispassionate view of *Becket's* life and actions, we see little of the spiritual, but a great deal of the carnal man; and much more of the sinner, than the saint. We do not therefore envy the *Romish* church, the honour of having such kind of saints and martyrs; whose merit, to intitle them to those venerable appellations, consisted chiefly in the unrestrained exercise of such violent and unregenerate passions, as are equally a reproach to humanity, and the gospel.

1. *Neque enim certe magis absurdum est a Romano Pontifice martyrem pronunciari, qui pro autoritate Pontificia asserenda occubuit, quam qui pro fide christiana occisus fuerit.*

Tres Thomæ, p. 53. ed. 8vo. Coloniae, 1612.

2. *Quanquam & martyrii causa talis est, ut si nulla vitæ sanctitas præcessisset, sola tamen ad sancti nomen ac rem adipsendam sufficiat.* *Ibid.* p. 54.

As

W. a Steph. p. 90.

W. a Steph. p. 90.

W. a Steph. p. 90.

As this holy saint was introduced into the world by visions and miracles; so was his *exit*, in like manner, distinguished by them. His approaching martyrdom was revealed to himself by a voice from heaven, not long before he returned from his banishment.¹ And as soon as he was dead, it was abundantly notified. A priest saw, in a dream, a bishop in his episcopal robes, in the body of the sun. A woman saw the moon fall from heaven, and cut in pieces by swords.² The very day his passion happened, it was revealed by the Holy Ghost to *Goodrick* the hermit, who lived 160 miles from *Canterbury*. And as soon as the monks had performed his obsequies, his wonder-working power commenced: for whilst his body lay upon the bier, he lifted up his right hand, and gave the blessing.³ This last circumstance the archbishop of *Sens* informed the Pope of; adding, moreover, that he had appeared unto many, assuring them, that he was not dead but alive, and had shewed them, not his wounds, but only the scars of wounds. He told his Holiness also, that a blind man, by anointing his eyes with the saint's warm blood, had received his sight; and that he had lighted himself the wax candles, which

¹ *Hoveden*, p. 297. See his own account of our Lady, in a vision informing him of this and other particulars, cited, from the lieger book of the abbey of *Whalley* in *Lancashire*, in *Weever's* funeral monuments, p. 200.

² *W. a Steph.* p. 90.

³ *Hoveden*, p. 299.

were round his dead body, when they had been put out.¹

But these were only the beginning of wonders. The several writers of his story seem to think, there was no better way to raise his fame, than by dwelling upon the marvelous; and have accordingly feigned such an heap of miracles, as are an insult to religion, a shame to decency,² and an affront to common sense. We read of such reputed sanctity of his shrine at *Canterbury*, where his body was interred; of such immense offerings, and such superstitious profaneness exhibited at that place, as cannot but make us ashamed of our forefathers folly and credulity. Neither was this all. So great virtue and power could not be confined to one spot: and *Stapleton* has produced a rare list of special miracles, performed in a monastery of *St. Martin*, or *St. Just* in the grove, in *Artois*; where the monks had got the rochet he had on the very day of his martyrdom, and part of his hair-shirt, both so sprinkled with his sacred blood, that no washing could get it out. They likewise had a piece of his dalmatic, his pluvial or cope, and his shirt.³ These rags or relics, we are told, greatly exceeded, in their wonder-working power,

¹ *Ibid.* p. 300.

² *Liber de miraculis B. Thomæ*, authore monacho quodam *Cantuar.* cited in *Fox's martyrs*, v. i. p. 293. and in *Reflections on the devotions of the Roman church*, p. 227.

³ *Stapleton, tres Thomæ*, p. 108.

those which remained with the body at *Canterbury*.¹

It would be trifling to mention vulgar miracles, such as, the curing all manner of sicknesses and diseases, making up of differences, and the raising of the dead. So constant a practice this of every saint, that the greatest wonder of all is, how any of their votaries ever happened to die. Such kinds of wonders every quack saint could operate: but those of the first magnitude must be more distinguished. He, whose cup of water, when tasted, was found rich and sweet wine²; he, to whom his mistress, the virgin *Mary*, gave a new garment, and mended his torn hair shirt; and he, whose fowl, upon a fasting-day, was turned into a carp³; must have amazing communications of supernatural influences imparted to him; and his sanctity *cannot be contested*: for he continued to work miracles with the same spirit with which he began. *Benedict*, the abbot of *Peterborough*, in about twenty years after *Becket's* death, filled five volumes with the history of them⁴. Such a martyr, and so much merit, could as easily work miracles abroad, as at home; for, as he

¹ *Id.* p. 110.

² *Hoveden*, p. 298.

³ *Gononi Chronicon SS. Deiparæ*, p. 177. *Ibid.* p. 176, and *Wickman's Sabbatismus Marianus*, p. 73, cited in *Reflections on the devotions of the Roman church*, p. 220, and p. 221.

⁴ *Rob. Swapham cœnobii Burgensis historia*, p. 99. in *Sparke's scriptores varii*, &c.

suffered more than any other apostle or martyr, so, it is said, his miracles exceeded those of any other saint'. To remove the prejudices of the reader *in these days of refinement*, (p. 226) we will present him, by way of specimen, with one *circumstantial* and *incontestible* proof out of many, *and related with such ingenuous plainness, that it must gain universal credit and approbation.* A miracle it is of a very extraordinary nature; and performed, not by the dead body at home, (for the wonders, wrought at the shrine at *Canterbury*, were so frequent, and so well attested, (p. 227) that my author was above producing proofs, of what could *not be contested*;) but at a distance, at the convent of *St. Martin's* in *Artois*, which had happily got the relics or rags above named, which partook of the efficacy of that heavenly power derived to them, from that body, which they once covered; and were attended with the same almighty charms.

A certain noble lady, having miscarried of a dead and imperfect foetus, was so affected by it, that she cried to *St. Thomas*, not to suffer the soul of her poor abortive foetus to go *ad limbum inferorum*; and earnestly besought him, to put life into it. One of her favourite women servants, hearing this, took a wax statue of the same weight with the abortive lump, to the holy relics; and whilst

W. a Steph. p. 91. Stapleton, tres Thoma, p. 53.

she

she was praying to them, offering the gifts, and reaching out the statue, immediately the abortive foetus, which was in the arms of the midwife at home, received life; moved its lips, and eyes, and eyebrows: and, moreover, so perfect were all its members, that no defect or spot whatsoever appeared. The grateful mother sent her enlivened son to the convent to be baptised there; and intreated the abbot that he would be his godfather: who, in honour of the saint, named him *Thomas*. Upon this the mother made the convent magnificent presents; and, in memory of the miracle, called the chamber, her son was born and revived in, by the name of *the convent*. When the child was seven years of age, she sent him to the convent upon her very best horse, with a waxen horse and boy, the weight of them both; and presented the church with the waxen, and the live horse. In short, such was her gratitude, nothing would serve her, but that when she died, she would be buried in the monastery. And the son, many years after, when he had been a pilgrimage to the holy land, and had been knighted for his feats in war there, chose to have his remains deposited by his mother's, to honour the sanctified relics, to whose miraculous energy he owed his life. This is a

¹ *Stapleton, tres Thomæ*, p. 115. whose book, from p. 108 — 135, is filled with the relation and attestation of the miracles performed by these wonder-working relics.

sample of *Becket's* miracles : and he who can swallow down these fables — must be as credulous as — Mr. *P.* — or an infidel.

So much for this grand hierarchical saint ! and we maintain that *Henry* did a good deed, in calling off his subjects from the profane and blasphemous superstition paid to the tomb ; and in demolishing both the shrine and the day, of this fictitious, furious saint. But where was the saint himself all this time ? Was there not, if possible, a greater call and necessity to exert his wonder-working faculty, when such irreparable injuries were offered to his body, and such gross insults to his sanctity ? or was there less inherent virtue in his body, than in his rags ? or why did he not work some signal miracle, to confound, or convert the sacrilegious disturbers of his ashes ? By the saint's passive tameness, we cannot but suspect the whole relation of his miraculous operations ; and deem them all, lying wonders, and pious frauds, invented by superstition, *retained by credulity*, and supported by tricks and impostures.

Whilst *Henry* was unshrining of dead saints, *Pole*, we are told, was taken up in the private offices of friendship (p. 230) to living ones. His *Ligeoise* friends, (p. 231) who had sheltered him in his late rambles, recommended to him the cause and person of *Albert Pigbius*. But little solicitation was needed in his behalf with *Pole*. He could best of all introduce himself to the cardinal : for it appears
from

from the abstract of his famous book, concerning the hierarchy, inserted in *Dupin's* ecclesiastical history, that he maintained the plenitude of the papal power, to a degree of absurdity and enthusiasm¹. “ In the questions,” indeed he tells us, “ that do not relate to the interests of the court of Rome, he was bold enough : but in those that did relate to them, he was prepossessed with most unsufferable opinions ; and of all the authors that have written on these heads, there is not one that has carried things so far, or who has given more to the Pope than he has done². ” This character of *Pighius* gave *Quirini* a good deal of offence : and he endeavours to set it aside, by saying, that *Pole* and *Sadolet* thought differently of him³. And yet the former of these did afterwards, in the council of *Trent*, publicly mention *Pighius* as one whose zeal, in opposing heresy, had run away with his judgment ; and who, because he would confute the whole of the *Lutheran* doctrine concerning original sin, had very near fallen into *Pelagianism*⁴.

It seems also, that in one article, he had like to have turned heretic himself ; and some heterodox boasters maintained, as *Quirini* very civilly expresses it, this glaring lie, that

¹ *Dupin*, eccles. hist. 16 cent. v. 1. p. 435.

² *Id.* p. 437.

³ *Quirini*, v. 2. *Diat.* p. cxi.

⁴ *Pallavic. hist. conc. Trid.* l. 8. c. 2. f. 2. v. 1. p. 256.

this *Achilles* of popery was wholly theirs, in the article of justification¹. Had he condescended to have told us who that liar was, we should have learnt from Mr. P, the cardinal's echo, (p. 232, *note*.) It may perhaps (from what is said afterwards) be *Bucer*². *Chemnitius* does also produce a long passage of *Pighius* to confirm it³. But not only these heretics, but *Tapper*, who must always be named with honour, has reflected on him with great severity, (p. 232). With great severity indeed! for that godly man supposed him to have been bewitched by *John Calvin's* institutions⁴. *Quirini*, however, who will never give up the cause of *Pole*, or any of his friends, has undertaken *Pighius's* defence⁵: and as Mr. P. had those arguments before him, he should not have left his character under a cloud.

It is pleasant to observe, how bigots and persecutors can quarrel amongst themselves. The writer of *Pighius's* life tells us, he bore an inveterate and implacable enmity against heretics⁶. But his zeal and fury spent itself

¹ *Refellendam sumo vanam heterodoxorum gloriationem — apertissimi mendacii eosdem coarguo. Quirini, v. 2. Diat. p. cxxx.* ² *Id. p. cxxxix.*

³ *Chemnitii examen. conc. Trident. p. 140.*

⁴ *Fascinated errore, & seductus ex lectione institutionum Joannis Calvinii. Quir. v. 2. Diat. p. cxxxii.*

⁵ *Ibid. p. cxxxii—cxxxix.*

⁶ *Nusquam tamen acrius insurgit, quam ubi cum hereticis (adversus quos perpetuum, ac implacabile bellum instituerat) hierarchiam ecclesiasticam gravissime tutatus est.*

Guntheri vita Pighii, cited by Quir. v. 2. Diat. p. cxxxix.

in paper. Whereas *Ruard Tapper* had nobler opportunities, as great inquisitor of the Low Countries, of expressing his zeal and activity to thorough good purposes: and we need no other proof of his butcherly disposition, than his diabolical treatment of the venerable *Merula*, as related by that fair and candid writer, *Gerard Brandt*¹; who records a speech of him, fit to come from no other mouth, but that of an inquisitor. “It is no great matter,” said this holy zealot, “whether those who die on account of religion, be guilty or not, provided we may fright the people, by such examples: which cannot fail of good success, when men eminent for their learning, wealth, nobility, and great places, are thus sacrificed.” After this, it is no surprise to find, that this violent persecutor was looked upon as an atheist. This is the wretch, *who*, as Mr. P. informs us, *must always be named with honour*, (p. 232).

His holiness, willing to do honour to his pontificate, and to the sacred college, (p. 150) had lately promoted to the purple, to add more lustre to it, *David Beaton* the primate of Scotland, (p. 234) with a view no doubt to express, how much *he was sensible, the senate of the universal church should be composed of persons of distinguished merit, whose*

¹ *Brandt's hist. Ref. v. i. b. 4. A. D. 1556, 1557.*

² *Id. A. D. 1559.*

examples might recall the ancient splendour of the priesthood, (p. 141). Pole, eager to embrace any opportunity of expressing his zeal, wrote him a congratulatory letter, too particular to be here omitted, (p. 234) : such an one as we might expect from him, full of cant, and fulsome flattery, wherein he praises him for his piety; and congratulates not only the church of Rome, but the universal church, which had such abundant reason to bless God, for this promotion¹. Surely Pole could not be in earnest when he wrote this, or else he must be ignorant of Beaton's real character. The Scotch historians describe him, as a man indeed of abilities, but otherwise of an infamous character, and exceeded by none in pride, lust, and cruelty². But his zeal against heresy would sanctify every thing in Pole's opinion.

The primate of *Scotland* was made a cardinal, more effectually to secure the King and himself to the court of *Rome*: and no sooner did he put on the *red garment*, (p. 235) but instead of answering the prophet's question, according to the turn that Pole's fancy had given it, he chose, if any judgment is to be formed from his actions, to answer it in the prophet's own words, *the blood of the people shall be sprinkled upon my garments, and I will stain all my rai-*

¹ Quirini, diat. v. 2. p. CXLIV. Ep. p. 117.

² Robertson, Spotswood, Knox, and Hume, do all concur in giving cardinal Beaton this amiable character.

ment, for the day of vengeance is in mine heart'. No charge of heresy coming amiss to him, but death was the consequence; whether "men nailed rams horns on the head of St. Francis, put a cow's rump to his tail, and eat a goose upon all-hallow evening, or kept company with those who did such wicked and abominable things"; or whether they preached against the novelties and corruptions of the church of Rome. The cardinal had power: and he was resolved to make such miscreants feel it to the uttermost. But unfortunately for him, the Scotch would not be convinced by such rough methods. For he shewed such rigour in these prosecutions, and particularly such indecent triumph at the execution of *Wishart*³, as enraged the common people, and exasperated the nobility; who were shocked at his shameless vanity, in celebrating the nuptials of one of his bastard daughters, with the utmost pomp and magnificence. These, and other violencies, had made him universally hated; and irritated some cool and def-

¹ *Isaiah*, 63. v. 3, 4.

² *Spotswood*, history of the church of Scotland, p. 75.

³ So do all the historians I have seen, call that eminently zealous and peaceable reformer; and not as Mr. P., by a singular affectation, *Wizart*. *Thuanus*, in the account he gives of this transaction, calls him, by interpreting the meaning of his name, from *Buchanan*, *Sophocardius*. L. 3. A. D. 1547. See more of him, *Burnet*, Ref. v. 1. p. 333—336. *Collier*, v. 2. p. 205. *Fox*, v. 2. p. 616, &c.

perate assassins, to perpetrate his murder.
 “ Such was the end of this unfortunate man,
 “ who in his life was ambitious beyond mea-
 “ sure, and in punishing of those he esteem-
 “ ed heretics more than inhuman ¹.” Thus,
 agreeably to *Pole’s* prophecy, *Beaton’s* blood,
 as *Quirini* informs us, was shed for the ca-
 tholic faith; and upon that account, he adds,
 that he, as well as *Fisher*, in one *very wise*
 work, is justly reckoned amongst the cardi-
 nals famous for their sanctity ², and that in
 another work, it is expressly asserted, and in-
 disputably proved, that he was truly a mar-
 tyr ³.

Mr. *P*, conscious that such commendations
 would not be relished in *England*, has wisely
 suppressed them; and, to conciliate our fa-
 vour, hath ventured to give his suffrage a-
 gainst persecution for conscience sake, by
 owning, that *Beaton’s* violence *was a severity*
which those times could not bear, and with
which it were to be wished the lenity of the
gospel spirit had caused all times and all coun-

¹ *Spotswood*, p. 83. *Knox*, (p. 72) says it was *James Melvil*, another of the conspirators who harangued his associates and the cardinal, in the pithy manner hinted at by Mr. *P*, not *Lesley*. And so does *Keith*, if we may judge from the passage cited by *Hume*. *Tudors*, v. i. p. 299.

² *In catalogo cardinalium ex fama sanctitatis illustrium, in sapientissimo opere de servor. Dei beatif. & beator. cano- niz.* L. III. c. xxxiii. *Quir. diat.* v. 2. p. cXLV.

³ *Historia cardinalium a Donio D’ Attichy episcopo Ædu- ensi*, Tom. III. *Ibid.* p. cXLVI. & v. 3. *Pref.* p. 23.

tries to have been for ever unacquainted, (p. 234). It is artful to throw out such sort of expressions when writing in this country : but those who know the merciless, intolerant spirit of popery, will only smile at such fair and smooth speeches. — But nothing so soft, nothing so mild and easy, as its garb and language, when at a distance from power and dominion : but place it where it may exert itself, and this candour and moderation is no more. But the times are now altered ; and good-sense, and good-nature have, as these encomiasts will tell us, refined the ferocity of ancient times, and *the lenity of the gospel spirit* is now the character of the members of the catholic church : their *temper and principles* are, as *Pole* was, *utterly averse to sanguinary and compulsive measures*, (p. 235). They may have *Pole's temper and principles*, and not be *averse* to such measures neither.

It is well, however, for those who talk so, if this be really the case. This kingdom has experienced different treatment from those who called themselves catholics : we never found them such gentle creatures. The bloody days of the *Marian* persecution exhibited another picture of popery triumphant. Neither did the infatuation of a prince, in later days, upon the throne, of the same religious persuasion, promise better ; and the state of the protestants in

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Ireland,

*Ireland*¹, when one kingdom was lost, and the crown of the other was tottering upon his head, was a flagrant proof that such actions, at such a time, could not be more owing to the weakness and folly of the prince himself, than to the *sanguinary and compulsive* genius of that *cause*, whose best argument is the sword. It was nothing but this prevented the reformation gaining ground, even in *Spain* and *Portugal*; and has kept it so low, in *France* and *Hungary*. And that iniquitous tyrant the duke of *Alva*, when he left his government of the Low Countries, boasted, that he had delivered into the hands of the executioner above 18,000 heretics or rebels, without reckoning those who died in war: and yet *Vargas*, the president of the council of tumults in *Holland*, that bloody council (as it was called) erected to destroy civil as well as religious liberty, had the boldness to affirm, that the Low Countries were lost out of a foolish compassion². To omit the many long, inhuman, and barbarous persecutions, so contrary to *the lenity of the gospel spirit*, which the protestants

¹ King's state of the protestants of *Ireland* under King *James's* late government. Throughout.

² *Brandt*, Ref. v. 1. b. 16. A. D. 1573. Who hath, in another place, recorded an admirable decision of *Vargas*. *Heretici*, said that learned and upright judge, *fraxerunt templa; boni nihil faxerunt contra: ergo debent omnes pati-bulare*. B. 9. A. D. 1567.

of

of almost every country in *Europe* fatally experienced in the last and preceding centuries; let us only consider how the same evil spirit hath exerted itself, with equal and unrelenting severity, in the present *epoch*. The persecution and banishment of the *Saltzburghers* is not forgotten¹. We have heard too of the unjust violencies in *Hungary*, where there were, in the late emperor *Leopold's* time, more than 2000 churches of the reformed; but in 1747 there were not many more than 100 left; and since that time, they are doubtless diminished². To descend lower still. In the freest kingdom of all, and where the greatest latitude is allowed; yet even there, and within these few years, the civil power hath been exerted to the ruin and extirpation of some of its most loyal and peaceable subjects; and this, not for opposition to government, or maligning the administration, but solely and purely for conscience and religion's sake, and for worshipping God after the way that they are pleased to term heresy³. And whose heart does not bleed,

1 A. D. 1731, 1732. See the account of the sufferings of the persecuted protestants in the archbishopric of *Saltzburgh*, in two pamphlets published in 1732 and 1733.

2 *Tristissima eccles. Hung. protestant. facies. A Matthia Babil, V. D. M. Veritatis causa exule. Bregæ 1747. 8vo. Lat. & Germ.*

3 See authentic and indisputable vouchers for this, in two pamphlets. One intitled, *Popery always the same, exemplified in an account of the persecutions now carrying on against the protestants in the south of France*: published in

bleed, whose indignation does not rise, at reflecting on the dismal catastrophe of the *Calas* and *Sirven* families at *Toulouse*, where bigotry, with its genuine offspring persecution, appeared in all its horrors?

Such little reason have some people to descant upon the *lenity of the gospel spirit*. Let them talk of it less, and practise it more. We, however, do not desire to retaliate this cruel spirit upon the eager, restless emissaries of the church of *Rome* in this kingdom. We hope God will pardon the blindness and perverseness of their hearts; and make gracious allowances for the prejudices of an early education, and a misguided conscience. Knowing the strong bias of violent prepossessions, we may justly say, that we endeavour to win them, by *the lenity of the gospel spirit*. We return them good for evil; and allow them that liberty of conscience, which they know not how to grant to us. We do not violently seize children from their parents. We do not condemn the men to the galleys, or the women to the workhouses, for being married by priests of their own communion. We do not send out military force to find out their

1746. The other is of still later date, being an historical memorial of the most remarkable proceedings against them in the same kingdom, from 1744 to 1751: published in 1752. Both of these are worthy the knowledge and perusal of every serious protestant.

See *Voltaire's* letter to Mr. D'AM. upon these two tragical incidents. Published the beginning of this year.

places

places of meeting for religious worship ; and shoot at, imprison, and fine to utter ruin, those who happen to be surpris'd there. We send not their priests to the gallies or the gallows, for presuming to exercise their ministerial functions¹.

These, and the like actions of unchristian violence, as contrary to the true spirit of the gospel, are forbidden us by *our* religion. We shew them therefore a *better* pattern : for *compulsion* is not *conviction*. And though sometimes our moderation and forbearance may give offence to the more zealous part of our own persuasion ; yet we had rather be slack or even negligent, than rigorously to enforce the penal sanctions of the laws against those who differ from us, and which too many of them do justly deserve to feel ; such, I mean, who not content with this toleration and connivance, but deeming a defensive part too mean an undertaking, shall boldly put themselves forward to act on the offensive, shall openly and insolently arraign the religion of their country, brave its laws, and do their utmost to provoke the gentle government which harbours and protects them, by wantonly, and without distinction or exception, speaking evil of every name endeared to us by all valuable and grateful obligations, as christians, as scholars, and as

² See many instances of all these facts, in the pamphlets above referred to.

patriots. Thus, because we have not, what a Pope once called the best prop and main bulwark of the *Roman* faith, *an inquisition to silence heresy*, our bigotted enemies of that church presume to irritate us more and more; and avowedly spare no care, or cost, or pains, or thought, to seduce weak, and ignorant, and dying persons; pleasing themselves, that they can lull us asleep, by declaring against compulsion and persecution. But these restless bigots should consider, for their own sakes, that good-nature may be pressed too hard; and that no government can tamely suffer continued insults against its laws, or care to see their peoples principles debauched, and the allegiance due to their natural prince transferred to a foreign power. — Their own officious sedulity therefore may hurt them. We know what we may expect from them. For though smooth words are easily spoken; yet, as they are not always equally upon their guard, something will drop, which will discover their real *temper and principles*. Thus this very writer, with whom we are concerned, who recommends *the lenity of the gospel spirit*, and condemns *all sanguinary and compulsive measures*, is not ashamed to palliate and justify the cruelties of queen *Mary's* reign. And this very cardinal of his, who is said to be so *averse* to such *measures*; yet, when legate here, and invested with full

‡ *Paul the 4th.*

power,

power, was so far from having either the honesty or the courage to prevent them, that he employed them himself, *in establishing the catholic cause*, (p. 235).

The Pope having, by his mediation, reconciled the Emperor and the King of *France*; and these two princes, to humour his holiness, joining in their censures of *Henry's* conduct: this *servant of servants*, backed by such supports, thought he might now venture, from that universal superintendence, which obliged him to watch over the spiritual welfare of each part of the church, (p. 178) to issue out his bulls of excommunication and deposition of this adversary of his see; and which, to *Pole's* great grief, he had kept by him for some time, to the detriment, as he thought, of the kingdom¹. By this act, the Pope, as far as in him lay, deprived *Henry* of his kingdoms; absolved his subjects from their allegiance; and ordered them to take up arms against him: and all the christian princes of *Europe* were exhorted to fall upon him, as a public enemy of the church of God².

This extraordinary exertion of the plenitude of papal power, having been claimed and exercised by several of those meek and christian bishops who had sate in *St. Peter's* infallible chair, we cannot but express our

¹ *Quirini*, v. i. *Diat.* p. 315.

² *Burnet*, ref. v. i. p. 245. *Records*, p. 166.

astonishment, that Mr. P. should presume to discuss that claim; and to question, not the validity of the excommunicating part of the sentence, but the deposing power assumed in it: for he tells us, *we do not any where find, that the author of our holy religion declared his vicegerents in the hierarchy to be umpires and disposers of states and kingdoms*, (p. 238).

A concession this, highly derogatory to the Pope's supreme and infallible authority, and which the abettors of it will not thank him for; unless, perhaps, the greater service his book may do the cause, may incline them to pardon and indulge him in any representation he chuses to make of the principles of it.

He says, that Gregory VII, that very turbulent and ambitious pontiff, *was the first who undertook to depose a sovereign*, (p. 239). And so it is frequently said. But Bellarmine dates this jurisdiction rather higher; and proving from facts, that the Popes claimed this uncontrollable temporal power over princes, he instances in Gregory the second, in the 8th century, deposing the emperor *Leo Isaurus* the iconoclast, and *Zacharias*, who deprived *Childeric* of the kingdom of *France*, and gave it to *Pepin*. He also mentions acts of equal temporal power exercised by other Popes before Gregory the seventh'. And the

1 Bellarm. Cont. tom. 1. de Rom. Pont. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 1087, &c. See also the same vol. and treatise, l. 3. c. 16. p. 910. And Baronius, speaking of Gregory's deposing the emperor *Leo Isaurus*, says, *Sic exemplum posteris dignum reliquit*

same author, in another place, enumerating the several reasons for calling a council, makes the motive of deposing an emperor one of them¹.

But, says Mr. P, *this opinion is so far from making a part of the doctrine of the catholic church, that no professor would be allowed to maintain it in those countries, which are most attached to her communion; and no book suffered to appear in public, where it was asserted,* (p. 240). Things are strangely altered then of late years. For though the papal power hath been considerably lowered since the reformation; yet, that such a proof of orthodoxy, as maintaining the Pope's temporal authority, should be formally censured by any of that communion, is what we can hardly credit, when so many *infallible* Popes have, *ex cathedra*, pronounced it *heretical* to deny it: when it has been made a kind of test of fidelity and submission to the successor of the prince of the apostles: when so many luminaries of that church have warmly contended for it: and when one of their GENERAL COUNCILS hath positively decreed, *that Popes may depose heretical princes, and absolve their subjects from their allegiance*². What can we rea-

liquit Gregorius, ne in ecclesia Christi regnare sinerentur hæretici principes. Annal. v. 9. A. D. 730. sect. 5. p.

133.

¹ *Id. Tom. 2. De conciliis & ecclesia, L. 1. c. 9. p. 17.*

² The fourth general Lateran council, held under Innocent III. A. D. 1215. cap. 3. *De hæreticis. v. Crabbe concil. v. 2. p. 947. ed. 1551.*

sonably

sonably conclude from hence, but that it is an article of their belief?

So necessary hath this doctrine been thought to the well-being of the papacy, that some of the greatest and ablest champions of the *Romish* church, instead of looking upon it as a *new system*, (p. 239) have thought it the more incumbent upon them, and from this very opposition, to insist upon its antiquity, and to shew the fatal tendency of depriving the see of *Rome* of any part of its jurisdiction. *Baronius* calls such an attempt, by no gentler a name than that of heresy, as depriving the Pope of half his power¹. And that ready controversialist, the ever-renowned *Bellarmino*, who will not give up any the least of the pontifical claims, enlarges upon this capital article; and has employed his whole fifth book *de Romano pontifice*, in establishing that Pontiff's temporal power; expressly asserting, that though the Pope hath not directly, *de jure divino*, a power over the temporalities of princes, yet indirectly, as the chief spiritual prince, he can change kingdoms, take them from one, and give them to another, if it be necessary for the good of souls². The famous cardinal *Perron* was

And in the next chapter, he says, *1 Hæresis errore notantur omnes, qui ab ecclesia Romana, cathedra Petri, e duobus alterum gladium auferunt, nec nisi spiritualem concedunt. Baronii Annales, A. D. 1053. sect. 14. v. II. p. 249. And again, A. D. 1073. sect. 13. p. 1072, he calls it, Hæresis Politicorum.*

² *Quantum ad personas, non potest Papa, ut Papa, ordinarie*

very warm upon this point ; and calls “ that
 “ doctrine which makes princes indeposable
 “ by the Pope, a breeder of schisms, a gate
 “ that makes way for all heresy to enter, and
 “ that it obliges men to confess that the ca-
 “ tholic church hath for many ages perished
 “ from the earth ; for he confidently avows
 “ it, that all the catholic church have held
 “ it, and the whole *French* church, till the
 “ time of *Calvin* ; that if this doctrine be
 “ not true, the Pope is so far from being
 “ head of the church, and vicar of *Christ*,
 “ that he is an heretic and Antichrist, and
 “ all the parts of the church are the limbs of
 “ Antichrist’.”

But not only is Mr. *P.* so unfortunate as
 to differ in this essential point, from these il-
 lustrious champions of his own church, but
 also from his favourite character : for *Pole*
 who, amongst other ornamental advantages,
 was distinguished by every qualification of an
all-accomplished churchman, (pref. p. xvi) had

*narie temporales principes deponere, etiam justa de causa, eo
 modo quo deponit episcopos, i. e. tanquam ordinarius iudex ;
 tamen potest mutare regna, & uni auferre, atque alteri con-
 ferre, tanquam summus princeps spiritualis, si id necessarium
 sit ad animarum salutem.* Cont. tom. 1. De Rom. Pont. 1.

5. c. 6. p. 1081. And in the next chapter, he says,
*Pontificis est judicare, regem esse deponendum, vel non deponen-
 dum.* And again, speaking of heretical princes, he says,
Omnium consensu possunt, & debent privari suo dominio.
Ibid. c. 7. p. 1084.

1 *Stillingfleet*, v. 2. serm. 2. p. 99. cited in *Fortin's*
life of Erasmus, v. 2. p. 41. See also *Voltaire's* works,
 v. 7. p. 37. Last French edition, 1756.

as high notions of papal omnipotency, as any cardinal could have ; and spared no pains to illustrate this doctrine. In his first book of *the church's unity*, he labours to demonstrate the pre-eminence of the sacerdotal to the regal office ; and in the second, to vindicate the prerogative of the see of *Rome*, and establish its high pretensions. Agreeably to this, he elsewhere asserts, " That Christ placed *Peter's* chair, above all the thrones of Emperors, and all the tribunals of Kings."

It would be endless to cite some of the most respectable names, belonging to the *Romish* church, who hold this temporal and deposing power in its full extent ; which surely they would not have done, if they had not looked upon it, as *making a part of the doctrine of the catholic church*, (p. 240). And though some high-spirited, unruly councils have lessened the Pope's authority, by making it inferior to that of councils, and some of the free spirits of *France*, by making a distinction between the court and the church of *Rome*, have absolutely rejected it ; yet have they been ever looked upon, by others of that church, with an evil eye, as not coming up to the true standard of orthodoxy.

But we have one authority more to prove this point, an authority too of the greatest weight of all with our biographer, and that

I *Petri cathedram, super omnia imperatorum solia, & omnia regum tribunalia collocavit Christus. Polus de concilio. Quæstio 61. p. 34. Romæ 1562. 4to.*

is—*his own*. For when he had before informed his readers of *Pole's legantine commission* to the chief powers of *Europe*, to induce them to compel *Henry* to return to the obedience of the see of *Rome*, he there vindicated the hostile conduct of his holiness, by declaring, that *the principles on which he proceeded, were drawn from that universal superintendence, which OBLIGED him to watch over the spiritual welfare of each part of the church, and gave him A RIGHT to use such means as are proper to effect it*, (p. 178). He then undoubtedly thought with his hero, *that it was the Pope's duty to seek, FROM EVERY QUARTER, a remedy to those evils, in which the King had involved himself and the whole kingdom*, (p. 183). Now, if this be not, in effect, making the Pope become a kind of universal monarch, superior to all others, even with respect to extent of temporal power, (p. 239), I know not what is. We cannot reasonably infer otherwise. Nor need we desire better proof, that *this opinion does make a part of the doctrine of the catholic church* (p. 240), than from the number, weight and character of those members of that church, who professedly inculcate it as such.

Mr. P, however, proceeds, and adds, *that no professor would be allowed to maintain it in those countries, which are most attached to her communion; and no book suffered to appear in public, where it was asserted*, (p. 240). If the professors are not allowed to maintain this

this doctrine, they take the liberty to read lectures upon it; which, we may fairly suppose, is not to confute, but to *maintain and assert it*. In the scheme of lectures to be read in the university of *Erfurt*, for the year 1752, two of the law-professors there gave notice, that they would such and such days read lectures upon the decretals of *Gregory the IXth*: which decretals were collected to manifest his boundless authority, and to justify his excommunication of the Emperor *Frederick*, whom that violent and iniquitous Pope “ proclaimed an Antichrist and an a-
 “ theist; and a new gospel was promulged
 “ throughout *Europe*, promising, that who-
 “ soever assisted in dethroning the Emperor
 “ should inherit the kingdom of heaven.” And, not to mention some feeble attempts that both *Clement XI*, and *Innocent XII*, made to revive, if possible, their claimed temporal power; there was a work lately drawn up by the inquisition, concerning the papal power, to depose Kings, or discharge their subjects from their oath of allegiance; but such a piece, saith my author, would have met with a better reception in the eleventh

¹ *D. Joh. Michael Retermundt, professor decretalium, &c. & Joannes Joachimus Hunold, J. U. D. &c. ex catalogo prælectionum univ. Erfordiensis per annum sequentem habendarum. 1751.* And the canon of deposing heretical princes, established in the great *Lateran* council, as it is called, is received by these decretals into the canon law L. 5. Tit. 7. c. 13. *De Hæreticis*.

² *Walch's history of the Popes, p. 178.*

century,

century, than in the eighteenth¹. And long within Mr. P's remembrance hath this doctrine been *asserted*: and even a *French* writer hath openly *maintained* the Pope's pretensions; and his book been *suffered to appear in public, where it is asserted*². So that this doctrine is not quite so much exploded by his church, as Mr. P. would persuade us it is.

The reconciliation of the Emperor and the King of *France*, and the distinguished civilities shewn to our *English* fugitive by the former of those princes, inspired him and his master, the Pope, with fresh hopes of *reuniting so fair a portion, as England, to the catholic church*, (p. 173). Animated with this pleasing prospect, his holiness issued out his bulls of excommunication and deposition against the King of *England*: and the *English* cardinal cheerfully undertook another spiritual expedition against his own sovereign. As the encouragement now given was greater than before, his instructions ran in an higher strain; and breathed nothing but ruin and destruction against *Henry*. He was now sent into *Spain*, to persuade the Emperor to desist from the league against the *Turk*, that he might be at leisure to make war against his

¹ *Walch's History of the Popes*, p. 298. Note.

² *Petitdidier, a Benedictine monk, sur l'autorité et l'infallibilité des Papes*, printed at *Luxemburg* in 1724.

fellow christians¹. Such was *Pole's* charity, loyalty, and piety, which drove him upon this crusade, at the most unseasonable time of the year: but *vincit iter durum pietas*, (p. 245).

The hostile air of these instructions with respect to Henry, was such, that Mr. P. himself allows, that it may seem extraordinary, the legate should take upon him such a commission, (p. 242). But he thinks this apology will be admitted in his behalf, that *he had been declared a traitor, for causes which, in their nature, do not seem to come under the article of treason*, (p. 242). He had so, and upon very justifiable motives, for being concerned in the same treasonable practices he was now again engaged in, for aiding and abetting a rebellion against his King, and inviting and exciting the chief powers of *Europe* to invade and distress his country. He was ever inculcating, that *Henry* was a greater enemy to the cause of christianity than the *Turk*; “ that things might be so managed, that

¹ *Persuadere suæ Majestati, ut omni cura velit incumbere reductioni illius regni ad veram religionem, nec ulterius pati regem illum sævire in Deum, & in sanctos, tamdiu a se, & a toto regno cultos, &c. . . . D.V. Romana conabitur omnibus viribus persuadere suæ Majestati longe præstare . . . fieri a liga universa inducias, (et incluso etiam christianissimo rege) cum Turcis ad aliquod tempus, quam propter expeditionem in eosdem Turcas . . . amittere occasionem bene gerenda rei Angliæ, & Lutheranae. Instruëtio pro card. Polo, &c. Quir. v. 2. p. CCLXXIX. inter Monum. Prælim.*

“ no force should appear, and yet the greatest
 “ force applied, especially if the two powers
 “ (above mentioned) would but interpose in
 “ this cause, which concerned themselves,
 “ the holy see, and all *Christendom*; and that
 “ now was the time, as they were at peace
 “ together¹.”

But notwithstanding all this, we are told, *whatever the legate's private opinion might have been of the Pope's deposing power, in general; certain it is, that he never instigated the courts, to which he was sent, to act in consequence of it, (p. 243)* Surely, if Mr. P. had not the utmost contempt of his readers, and the highest opinion of his own importance and authority, he would not have dared to say this in direct contradiction to *Pole* himself, who *did instigate*, as much as in him lay, *the courts to which he was sent*, not to content themselves with expostulations and threats, but declare war against his own country, “ and crush the new *Turks* before “ they attacked the old ones.” This was his suggestion to the Pope²: this does he in-

¹ *Hæc omnia sic tractari possunt, ut nulla vis appareat, & tamen maxima vis adhibebitur; maxime si isti duo principes interponant se, ut causam hujus sanctæ sedis, & suam, atque totius reipublicæ christianæ agant, quod ut faciant hæc ipsa erit opportunitas, dum de pace inter eos concluditur.*

Quir. v. 5. p. 156. inter tria Poli scripta.

² *Quare primum prohibendum, ne novi Turchæ exoriantur, antequam ad veteres oppugnandos eatur.*

Quir. v. 5. p. 157. inter tria Poli scripta.

list upon in his letters to *Contareni*¹. But not to overpower our biographer with too many proofs at once, I will only refer him to a treatise of the cardinal, which, by giving an abstract of, (p. 275) he would persuade us, he had read and considered.

In that most inflammatory and scurrilous address to the Emperor, which *Pole* called his *Apology*, where all the vile and bitter expressions, which a fruitful and malicious imagination could invent, are in the coarsest language, without any regard to decency or religion, applied to his sovereign; and he who would see ribaldry and railing in its perfection², and learn the art of calling an enemy by bad names, need only dip into this apology, in comparison with which, the language of his book on the church's unity, severe and unchristian as it is, is modest and decent: he here openly declares to the Emperor, that

1 — *Primum Cæsarem contentum esse, ut amborum nomine mittantur, (sc. illius & regis christianissimi) qui Anglo protestentur, &c. Deinde hoc clare explicet, quod in omni protestatione intelligitur, Anglo non obediente, se contentum una cum rege christianissimo exequi, quæ ad obedientiam principum catholicorum pertinent, &c. Quir. v. 2. Ep. Poli Contareno, p. 176. And again, in another letter, he says, Excitare enim, ut nosti, in Scriptura Deus solet adversarios, & hostes contra eos quos Deus vult castigare, &c. Ibid. p. 198.*

2 The apology which *Pole* makes for all this scurrility against his King, is, that it was the will of God, and his vice-gerent, that he should abuse him; and he could not help it: *Non minus (says he) claram Dei vocem intus audire videor, qui me id facere jubeat, quam foris vicarii Dei imperium audio. Apol. ad Cæs. sect. VIII. p. 79.*

the

the motive of his late embassy was to expose the flagrant wickedness of *Henry*, and to persuade him, “to divert his arms from the *Turk*; and “if it could not otherwise be, to turn them, “where the greater necessity of the church demanded them’.” It would be tedious and endless to produce other passages to the same effect: for the intention of the whole treatise is to rouse the Emperor to revenge the cause of the church; and to assure him, he could not expect success in his other enterprises, till he had triumphed over this enemy of christianity². But alas! neither the embassy, nor the eloquence of *Pole*, could prevail either upon the Emperor, or the King of *France*. They, it seems, were far from feeling any thing of the CHRISTIAN and public spirit, with

¹ *Ab eo missus, cui me fas parere cogit, & ad te primum missus, deinde ad regem christianissimum, ut hujus (sc. Henrici) scelera per se quidem minime obscura detegam, & te, CÆSAR, a bello Turcico abducere coner, & quantum possum, suadeam, ut arma tua eo convertas, si huic tanto malo aliter mederi non possis, quo te major necessitas ecclesiæ vocat. —*

He had just before said, that he had threatened the King 3 years ago in his book, if he did not desist from persecuting the church: *Si nemo alius hoc in se susceperet, me facturum, ut apud principes ejus nequitia sic pateret, ut aperte cognoscerent illum multo graviores hostem ecclesiæ, quam Turcarum tyrannum; & si alter bello esset persequendus, multo justius contra illum arma convertenda, quam contra Turcam, ut a quo major perniciēs immineret.*

Quir. v. 1. Apol. ad Cæs. sect. VIII. p. 78.

² *Sic vero dico, si expectamus victoriam in Oriente, christianis ab hoste Christi in Occidente gravius afflictis prius esse succurrendum; victoriam enim Christianorum in Oriente ab ista in Occidente pendere.*

Ibid. sect. XLII. p. 166.

which he was animated, (p. 243); and did not care to enter into a war only to gratify the pride and resentment of the bishop of Rome, and to countenance (what, as Kings, they could not but abhor) the treasonable efforts of a *fugitive incendiary*. The legate therefore was forced to be contented with a few good words, and retire, as before, with shame, confusion, and disappointment.

It was not to be supposed, that *Henry* was so ill-served, as to be ignorant of the legate's offensive negotiations with these princes. "Whatever danger, therefore, he apprehended from abroad, he ascribed it all to *Pole*, "as the great inciter of foreign princes to "invade his realm, and to his correspond- "ences, as giving encouragement to make "the attempt." The cardinal was at a distance, and out of his power: but the storm fell heavily upon his family, and some of his friends; who lost their lives, for the correspondence they had kept up with him, who had been declared the King's rebel and enemy. Mr. P. says, *their only crime was their affinity to the cardinal*, (p. 246). *Henry*, bad as he was, was not so violent as this neither. They were indicted for high treason; the particulars of the proofs are not recorded. And from the account of the proceedings against these unfortunate noblemen related by *Burnet*²,

¹ *Carte*, v. 3. p. 148.

² *Burnet*, Ref. v. 1. p. 358.

they seem to have been guilty of little more, than of some very hasty and very imprudent speeches which fell from them: but the cardinal's open and provoking treasons, and the dangerous situation of *England*, in case of an invasion, might be the occasion of their being treated with greater severity, than their offences would have deserved in calmer times.

The offence that *Pole's* behaviour gave his friends in *England*, is strongly expressed by bishop *Tonstall*, who most severely censures him for his unnatural, shameless, pestilent treasons; "whose pernicious treasons" (says he) "late secretly wrought against this realme, have been, by the work of Almighty God, so marvelously detected, and by his own brother, without looking, so disclosed, and condign punishment infused, that hereafter, God willing, they shall not take any more such root to the annoyance of this realm". This was all *Pole* got by this second ramble: he had the mortification to find all his hopes terminated in an unsuccessful and despised embassy, in the ruin of his family, and the loss of his friends.

The cardinal's sanguinary expectations being defeated; to indulge his spleen and re-

¹ Bishop *Tonstall's* Palm Sunday sermon, before *Henry VIII.* in 1539. Re-printed in 4to. 1633, p. 32, 33. And also cited in *Strype's Memorials*, v. i. p. 338.

sentment', he retired to, and *lodged in a convent near Carpentras*, (p. 261), where, whilst he was trying to get over his public disappointments, and private afflictions, we are called to attend to *the boisterous proceedings by which Henry was giving the nation to understand, they had exchanged the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, for the arbitrary will of a capricious and bloody prince*, (p. 263). It is hard upon the King of *England*, that nothing he did can please either *Pole*, or his biographer. *Three years before this time*, he says, *he drew up a profession of faith, &c.* (p. 263). In all this, he adds, *there was nothing but what had been the constant doctrine of antiquity, and was then held and practised by the whole catholic church*, (p. 264). We can hardly think, that Mr. *P.* knows any thing more of these articles, than what he learnt by running over the titles of them, or he would not have been so lavish in his commendations of them. For these articles were intended to be healing ones of reconciliation and unity, wherein something was to be yielded on both sides: for not to mention, that four of the *Romish* sacraments are entirely dropped; nothing said of traditions, indulgences, the Pope's power, or the like; purgatory was made uncertain, and its abuses

1 See his letters from *Carpentras* in the months of *August* and *September*, 1539, wrote to *Contareni*. *Quir.* v. 2. p. 181—199.

taken away. So that, “ by perusing these
 “ articles, the reader may perceive several of
 “ the most shocking doctrines of the *Roman*
 “ communion were softened and explained
 “ to a more inoffensive sense, and several su-
 “ perstitious usages discharged¹. ”

But now, *at the time I am speaking of*, the
 zealots of the *Romish* party had gained ground :
 and the King, (irritated by the opposition
Cranmer, and the well-wishers to the refor-
 mation, had made to the intire dissolution of
 the monasteries) to manifest to the world,
 that, though he was not a friend to the bi-
 shop of *Rome*, he still adhered to the faith of
 the *Romish* church, and to remove that of-
 fence, which the former profession of faith
 had given, he established those *six articles*,
 which we acknowledge to be cruel and
 bloody indeed. But who enacted those se-
 vere penalties to speculative points ? *Cromwell*
 or *Cranmer* ? No ; neither of them. The
 partizans of the *Romish* church made this
 law : and “ the adherents of the papacy were
 “ so intent upon its execution, that they got
 “ 500 persons, to be taken up immediately,
 “ but *Cromwell* representing the evil con-
 “ sequences of so violent a proceeding, pro-
 “ cured a pardon for them². ” But, how-
 ever, some few years after, (1544) a more
 considerate parliament passed another act, to

¹ *Collier*, eccles. hist. v. 2. p. 128.

² *Carte*, v. 3. p. 151.

qualify the rigour of these six articles, and to prevent malicious accusations¹.

Meanly as we think, as well as Mr. P, of *the slavish disposition of the parliament*, to pass *such inhuman edicts*, (p. 264), we cannot help reminding our biographer, that though this *inhuman* act was repealed in *Edward* the VIth's reign, yet an attempt was made in the first parliament of *Mary's* reign to revive it, which not then meeting with success, was deferred to the next parliament; which, being of a more *slavish disposition*, renewed this, and all the sanguinary statutes against heretics; *and recommended all the articles* of the catholic church, *by an argument, of which, it must be allowed*, the Queen, and her ministry, *were perfectly masters*, (p. 264).

But to return to our cardinal; who, whilst *Henry* was thus demonstrating his orthodoxy, remained still at his retirement near *Carpen-tras*: but as soon as he had recovered his spirits, he set out for *Rome* in obedience to the Pope's commands: and so fearful was he of any attempt against his life and person, and particularly in that place and neighbourhood, that he desired his coming might be kept a profound secret, and appear unexpected². Whilst he was upon the road, he stepped out of the way, to pay his devotions to the *head of Magdalen*³, which was preserved as a va-

¹ Carte, v. 3. p. 176.
Contareno, p. 194.

² Quir. v. 2. Ep. Poli
³ Cumque inde ad templum venissem, in quo ejus caput asservatur, &c. Quir. v. 4. Ep. ad Edwardum VI. sect. XLVI. p. 338.

luable relic, in a cavern near *the road between Aix and Marseilles*, called *Sainte-Beaume*, (p. 271). *As soon* (says he) *as I entered the church, I fell into a great fit of weeping*, (p. 272). But what occasioned this excess of sorrow? Was it a compunction arising from the sense of the misery which his folly and enthusiasm had brought upon his own family? No. They were, forsooth, his tears for *Henry's* hardness and impenitency. Siren tears truly! when he had just before, like the knights - errant of old, been running from court to court, to solicit the assistance of the christian powers, against that infidel and heretic, the King of *England*. His tears, therefore, could never be upon *Henry's* account, unless they were shed, because those princes would not enter into an holy war against him.

The cardinal, however, could sometimes attend to vulgar matters; and had just before given an instance of his prudence and worldly wisdom, in refusing the vacant bishopric of *Salisbury* from the Pope, judging wisely, it could do him no more good, than if he had been *nominated*, in the same manner, *to that of Antioch or Alexandria*: it could neither bring him honour or profit; and his enemies, hearing of it, would make it an handle of their *scorn and raillery*, (p. 267). But in this pilgrimage to *Magdalen's* cavern, he dis-

covers his weakness and superstition to a degree of credulity beyond even Mr. P's faith, who fairly confesses, that *the historical facts on which the tradition was grounded are of very doubtful authority*, (p. 271): for however high the *veneration*, formerly paid to this cavern, was, yet he must be sensible, "That it is not criminal now to deny that "*Mary Magdalen ever was in Provence*." And I am afraid, *the false delicacy of a corrupt age* will equally smile at Quirini², and his *English* copier, for *setting before the reader the sentiments which the cardinal felt at Sainte-Beaume, as proofs of his love and regard for the person* (p. 272) of Henry; and pity their hero for a *simplicity*, as void of understanding, as of true piety.

As we take no delight in calumniating the dead, we will let the character of Bembo (however dubious) pass without contradiction; and will only observe, that the profligacy of his younger years have met with a kind apology, which is not more owing to his orthodoxy and his purple, than to his attachment to, and his connections with cardinal Pole.

¹ *Voltaire's works*, v. 7. p. 48:

² *Quir.* v. 2. diat. p. CCXLVI:

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE FIFTH.

OUR *English* cardinal being now safely lodged, and, to quiet his fears of an assassination, well guarded too, at *Rome*, his biographer has again recourse to his old friend and assistant *Quirini*; and as he learnt from him, how much *Contareni* had been the confidant of *Pole* in his late spiritual negotiations, so, from the same authority, is he enabled to exhibit *Pole's* gratitude, by doing the same kind offices to his friend, who was now, in his turn, engaged in an ecclesiastical embassy at the diet of *Ratisbon*. *Quirini's* third volume, from which he had his intelligence, is chiefly taken up with matters relating to *Contareni*, and in vindicating him from the imputation of favouring the protestant doctrine of justification: but as that cardinal's actions were nothing to *Pole*, and the diet at *Ratisbon*¹ had no connection with

¹ For a full and accurate account of the proceedings at the diet at *Ratisbon*, the reader may consult *Seckendorf*,

England, we will pass by this part of the history, as nothing to our purpose.

Quirini has taken great pains to prove the orthodoxy of *Contareni's* sentiments on the subject of justification (p. 284): and his copier says, that some Lutheran writers have vainly flattered themselves, that *Contareni* was an abettor of their principles (p. 285). But those Lutherans were not singular in their opinion: the inspired members of the council of *Trent* thought so too. For when *Contareni's* nephew, the bishop of *Belluno*, delivered his opinion in the debate concerning justification, and ascribed the whole of it to faith, and the merits of Christ, exclusive of works; the historian of that council tells us, it gave very great offence; and revived the memory of the charge against his uncle, the cardinal, for maintaining the same sentiments.

When *Pole* had been some time at *Rome*, he received some comfort, however, to alleviate his afflictions: this cordial drop was now administered by the slow but sure vengeance, which, at length, overtook him, who had been the instrument of them all. This was the execution of *Cromwell* (p. 289). Perhaps the satisfaction the cardinal took in the fall of this minister of state, whom he looked upon,

l. 3. sect. 23, throughout, p. 352---369. *Pallavicini hist. conc. Trid.* l. 4. c. 13---15. v. 1. p. 140---147. *Sleidan.* b. 13, & 14, part of each. p. 275---285. *Father Paul*, b. 1. p. 94---100.

I *Pallavicini, hist. concil. Trident. lib. 8. c. 4. f. 15. v. 1. p. 261.*

to use his own scurrilous language, as the agent of the devil¹, might enable him to attend to business, and exert himself in the behalf of his friend *Contareni*; for *Cromwell* was executed the year before that cardinal went to the diet at *Ratisbon*.

We have before been made acquainted with *Pole's* inveterate hatred of *Cromwell*, (p. 73, &c.). It is no wonder therefore, if his historian should compliment his hero, by drawing the character of the earl of *Essex*, with the venom of an exasperated adversary. But as Mr. *P.* has professedly adopted his favourite's quarrels and friendships, and is therefore too much a party in the case, to write either with truth or temper, let us try whether a more favourable and just construction cannot be put upon the measures and actions of *Cromwell*, than cruelly and wantonly to represent him, as having *talents* only fitted for destruction; and that being irrestrained by any principle, human or divine, and the brutal savageness of his mind equal to his vile extraction, he was alike qualified to plan and execute his prince's worst designs, (p. 164).

Cromwell's introduction into public life was in a manner so honourable to himself, as would naturally bespeak the favour and goodwill of every ingenuous and honest mind.

¹ *Legatus Satanæ; nuncius Satanæ. Nominetur ergo, siquidem demones etiam in scriptura nominantur. Poli A-pol. ad Cæs. sect. xxvii. Quir. v. 1. p. 123, 125, 126.*

By his own merit and activity, by his own industry and ability, he surmounted the obstacles which a low birth and education threw in the way to obstruct his rise. Courage, fidelity, and gratitude to an eminent degree, distinguished his first appearance in the house of commons: and the King, pleased with his generous behaviour in defence of the sinking *Wolfey*, reasonably concluded, that he, who had served a private master with such zeal and affection, would serve him, with the same assiduity and attachment, in the great concerns of state. But here he found, how “impossible it was that any
 “man, who meddled so much in great and
 “public affairs, should not in divers kinds
 “so mistake, forget, and err, as to incur the
 “note of a criminal, when severe inquisition
 “was made against him’.” *Cromwell* had the misfortune to live in violent and dangerous times; and by his station was obliged to be an active and principal instrument in effecting that separation from the see of *Rome*, which we account a national blessing; tho’ it has exposed him to the virulent resentments of the members of that communion ever since. From the animosity of the two contending parties, which looked upon him as the chief agent in every thing, he hath met with singularly bad treatment: the one, thinking his power and influence greater

i Lord Herbert, p. 520.

than

than it was, have laid the whole of their destruction upon him ; the other, expecting that protection from persecution, which exceeded his authority, have joined in nothing else with their adversaries, but in their reproaches and censures of *Cromwell*. They have each of them, in their turn, rejected him as a member of their communion ; have acrimoniously examined his speech and prayer at his execution ; the one attempting to prove him to be no good protestant, the other no found papist.

At this distance of time from the scene of action, we should form an unprejudiced opinion, and make such candid allowances for his conduct and behaviour, as the impetuous violence of his master, and the peculiar difficulties of his situation, may reasonably offer in his behalf. The low birth of *Cromwell* might perhaps raise the indignation and envy of the nobility against him ; but the impartial historian, far from reckoning that any the least disgrace to his memory, will consider it as increasing his reputation : and that confessed ability, industry, and political sagacity, which raised him to his height of greatness, should also recommend him to the favourable notice of succeeding times. Lord *Herbert*, who is not over tender of *Cromwell's* fame, yet acknowledges, that “ he was noted
“ in the exercise of his places of judica-
“ ture, to have used much moderation ; and
“ in his greatest pomp, to have taken notice,
“ and

“ and been thankful to mean persons of his
 “ own acquaintance¹.” Sure signs these, *not*
of a brutal savageness of mind, but of an
 open, generous, friendly disposition.

It was *Cromwell's* misfortune, to serve a
 master whose passions were as violent, as his
 power was boundless ; and who never ruined
 by halves. The earl of *Essex* had recom-
 mended a wife to *Henry*, whose person proved
 disagreeable to him : and this was done with
 a view, no doubt, to attach him more firmly
 to the reformation. The partizans of the
 papal and imperial faction, observing the
 King's uneasiness, fomented it with all their
 might, by throwing a fairer object in his
 way ; and made use of the same artifice to
 ruin *Cromwell*, which had before been suc-
 cessfully played against *Wolsey* ; and, by re-
 presenting the clamours against the admini-
 stration, prevailed upon the King to sacrifice
 his minister to please the people. A falling
 statesman will never want accusers : and they
 who follow him in the sunshine of his power,
 will desert him when he can serve them no
 longer.

Cromwell experienced this common fate of
 disgraced ministers ; and was deserted by all
 his friends, except the constant *Cranmer*,
 whose letter to the King in his behalf, not-
 withstanding one expression in it, which no-
 thing but malice would take in a bad sense,

¹ Life of *Henry VIII*, p. 526.

will be a lasting proof of his sincerity and goodness of heart, and his friend's misfortune in serving such a master.

In the charge brought against *Cromwell*, heresy and treason are indeed objected: but the particulars are so trifling, that, in all probability, had he been permitted to have defended himself, he might have justified himself, as acting under the King's own directions. But that very act of attainder, which he himself, to please his master, had been too forward to promote, proved as fatal to him: *and even the farce of justice was as much superseded in his cause* (p. 310), as it had been before, in the case of the countess of *Salisbury* and others; for *the two houses condemned him without any legal trial, and unheard* (p. 290). The little time between his arrest, attainder and execution; the King's speedy divorce from *Anne of Cleves*, and engagements with *Catherine Howard*, are strong presumptions, that something more than the supposed guilt of *Cromwell*, was the real cause of his death. *Henry* found himself hampered with difficulties, his court divided into factions: he therefore gave up his minister, more to gratify their intrigues, and gain a new mistress, than for any real offence, or breach of the laws, which he had committed. So that, as Mr. *Dod* fairly observes, “ we have reason to suspect, that King
“ *Henry* made use of his arbitrary power
“ in the prosecution, and that several of
Y “ the

“the articles were frivolous and ground-
“less.”

Thus fell the low-born *Cromwell*, worthy of a better master, and a better fate: and
“his punishment may serve as a caution for
“those who serve severe princes, to procure
“sufficient warrant for all that they do.”
The King, however, is said to have lamented his loss; and endeavoured to make some reparation to his injured family, by creating his son, before the end of the year, a peer of the realm, by the title of lord *Cromwell*¹.

We are now called upon to view our cardinal in another, and more conspicuous light. The Pope rewarded his merit and his sufferings, by conferring on him *the government of the province of the patrimony* (p. 295), which *fair domain . . . was bequeathed to the holy see by Mathildis, countess of Tuscany, in the year 1115* (p. 296). This will of the countess was strongly disputed, first by the Emperor *Henry V*, and afterwards by several other princes; nor was her bequest given up, till the Emperor *Frederic II*, in the beginning of the thirteenth

¹ Church history, v. i. p. 168:

² Lord *Herbert*, p. 521.

³ See more of *Cromwell*. *Collier*, eccles. hist. v. 2. p. 180, 181. *Dod*, v. i. p. 167—169. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 159. *Burnet*, v. i. p. 276---280. And for the bill of attainder, *Records*, p. 187, and v. 3. p. 144---147. *Biog. Brit.* v. 3. article *Cromwell* (*Thomas*) p. 1531.

century, confirmed (but not intirely) that splendid donation to the *Roman* see, to induce the Pope to espouse his quarrel with *Otho IV*¹. *Matildis's* intentions, however, were kind to the holy see, who left her inheritance to it, to shew her gratitude and affection to that virtuous pontiff *Gregory VII*; with whom she was supposed to have as great interest, and upon the same honourable terms, as *donna Olympia* had, in much later days, with the chaste *Innocent X*².

When *Pole* was invested with the government of a province, left the holy see by such a saint, his biographer, from the scarcity of *documents* to illustrate his hero's actions, entertains us with an account of the *lenity* of his government, and a few quotations against persecution. We perfectly agree with our writer, in an abhorrence of that antichristian spirit; and shall only observe, that if the cardinal did pursue the lenient plan at *Viterbo*, he thought differently of it afterwards, when he was legate in *England*, and chose to try how much better the compulsive argument would succeed.

¹ *Mosheim's eccles. hist.* translated by Mr. *Maclaine*, v. 1. p. 500, 501. p. 642. And again, p. 647: and the notes at those pages, by his judicious and accurate translator: who hath done great service to the history of the Church, by his illustrations of his elegant and excellent original. See also *Walch's Lives of the Popes*, p. 146---176.

² *Cave, hist. lit.* v. 1. p. 619. *Kortholt. hist. eccles.* p. 426.

Mr. P, to recommend such *equitable sentiments* (p. 301), (besides appealing to the candid *Sadolet*) has produced the authority of *Sulpicius Severus*, and *St. Austin*. The testimony of the former, wherever he picked it up, when thoroughly considered will be found rather to favour the contrary sentiments. The place here referred to, but without telling us where to find it, occurs at the conclusion of the second book¹. The historian having recorded *Priscillian's* appeal from the ecclesiastical tribunal to the Emperor *Maximus*, who summoned him and his accusers to *Treves*, tells us, that this was permitted through the weakness of the orthodox². And though *he does blame the bishops Idacius and Ithacius for applying to secular judges* (p. 301), which he represents, not, as a shameful proceeding, but as indiscreetly done³: Yet he confesses, he should not have reproved the pains they took to extirpate heretics, if it had not been done with too eager a view to carry a point⁴. Neither does he represent the prosecution they carried on, at the Emperor's court, as a shameful proceeding (p. 301). What he really meant, by this expression, will be further explained by

1 *Lib. 2. p. 437. to the end. Ed. Home cum not. var.*

2 *Priscillianus vero . . . ad principem provocavit: permissumque id nostrorum inconstantia, p. 447.*

3 *Parum sanis consiliis, seculares judices adeunt, p. 442.*

4 *Quorum studium in expugnandis hæreticis non reprehenderem, si non studio vincendi, plus quam oportuit, certassent, p. 447.*

St. Martin's speech to the Emperor, that it was a new and unheard of crime, that a secular judge should determine an ecclesiastical cause¹. This was the bad example, *the shameful proceeding*, not the prosecution or punishment of heretics, (for they were, he says, unworthy of life²) but their being tried in the temporal courts. But, *the indignation* those bishops raised against themselves was still greater, when they followed them to Treves, in quality of accusers, (p. 302). Mr. P. may think so: but Sulpicius does not say it, for he knew they could not help going to Treves³. And though St. Martin was indeed against those heretics being put to death, yet the zeal of other more sanguinary bishops prevailed for their execution.

But, moreover, we are told, that neither St. Martin, nor St. Ambrose would have any farther communication with the prosecutors, or the bishops who continued in their communion, (p. 302), &c. [to the end of the quotation.] All this is true: but Mr. P. did not learn it from Sulpicius's history. That St. Ambrose did so, the editor of the *variorum* edition mentions in one of his notes. But Baronius, in his life of St. Ambrose, says, that that

¹ *Novum esse & inauditum nefas, ut causam ecclesie judex seculi judicaret, p. 449.*

² *Hoc fere modo homines luce indignissimi, pessimo exemplo necati, aut exiliis multati, p. 452.*

³ *Omnes, quos causa involverat, ad regem deducti. Secuti etiam accusatores, p. 447.*

saint, and the rest of the orthodox, did not condemn this execution, only disliked that bishops, who should abstain from blood, should be the prosecutors¹. And *Sulpicius*, not in this, but in another work, has related, that *St. Martin reproached himself*, (p. 302), for a little temporising; which place, if Mr. P. had consulted, he might have diverted his reader, with the miraculous circumstance of an angel's reproving the saint for that offence, who from that time found a diminution of virtue². But, however, his holiness Pope *Leo* the great, *one of the most illustrious bishops that ever filled the pontifical throne*, (p. 399), differed greatly in opinion from these two saints; and, when writing to *Turibius* bishop of *Asturia*, commended this slaughter of the *Priscillianists*, as an excellent undertaking³.

This authority proving so ineffectual, let us see whether the next can stand our author in better stead. Every writer should be consistent: if he contradicts himself, by saying and unsaying, his evidence must go for nothing. And though in the epistle referred to by Mr. P, *St. Austin* does indeed speak in

¹ *Baronius's* life of *Ambrose*, prefixed to the *Paris* edition of his works, v. I. p. 47. 1632.

² *Sulpicii Severi Dial.* 3. sect. 15. p. 575---579.

³ *Sulp. Sev. hist. lib.* 2. p. 452, in the notes. *Baronius* *vit. Ambros.* p. 47, who also refers to *St. Austin* as approving the same practices; and this letter of *Leo* is brought by *Maimbourg* to prove that heresy is a capital crime, and may be punished with death. *Hist. du Pontif de Leon le grand. lib.* 1.

favour of moderate courses; yet in so many more does he speak such opposite language, that nothing can well be argued from his opinion. But the zealots of the *Romish* church have made such good use of *Austin's* intolerant principles, that Mr. P. must surely be off his guard to produce him as a patron of moderation, when he cannot but know that, that saint's authority is alleged, upon every occasion, to justify persecution. Thus their two champions, *Stapleton*¹ and *Harpsfield*², cite him as *recommending* death as the proper punishment of heresy. And at a very critical time in the last century, a *French* version of some of *Austin's* letters was published, by order of an archbishop of *Paris*, to justify the persecution of the protestants, with this extraordinary title, *The conformity of the conduct of the church of France, for re-uniting the protestants, with that of the church of Africa, for re-uniting the Donatists with the catholic church*: which letters were well taken to pieces and exposed by *Bayle* in his philosophical commentary³. So little service have

1 *Stapleton*, *Promptuarium Catholicum*, *Dominica quinta post Epiph.* upon the parable of the tares, p. 61, *pars prima*; & *Domin. secunda post Pentecost*: upon the gospel, *Compel them to come in*, p. 159.

2 *Harpsfield's* dialogues. Dial. 6. p. 916.

3 The letters that occasioned *Bayle's* remarks, were, *Epist.* 93 *alias* 48, 185 *alias* 50, 164, 166, 167, 204, all in defence of the sword, and written against the *Donatists*, and particularly that absurd branch of them, known, not by Mr. P's new name of *Circoncilions*, but by that of *Circumcellians* (*Circumcelliones*).

these authorities been to Mr. P, that he had better have left the *subject* to its own self-evidence, (p. 302), than have called in such feeble and insufficient supports.

The lenity of *Pole* in his government occasioned the late learned digression. We are now to consider him as head of a literary society at *Viterbo*: and if *Quirini* and Mr. P. were not resolved, at all events, to extol their hero, we might have expected some insinuations of heresy to be thrown out against the cardinal himself. The protestants challenged him at this time, as secretly favouring their doctrine of justification: and the *Viterbo* society was unluckily composed of real, or reputed heretics. *Quirini* says, these were the principal members of it, *Flaminius*, *Peter Carnesecca*, the marchioness of *Pescara*; and *Caracciolus*, from what is there said of him, seems to be another¹. Of these *Flaminius*, *de quo erant primæ lachrymæ*², was a suspected heretic: and though he was regained to the church by the endeavours of *Pole*, yet he never got over the objection of that crime, and is still branded with it³. Mr. P. indeed says, he had imbibed, at Naples, the tenets of *Valdes*, with whom he had con-

¹ *Quir.* v. 3. *pref.* *De Viterbiensi sodalitate*, p. 59 & 72. & v. 4. *Apparatus*, p. I—VIII.

² *Ep. Hieron. Muzzarelli. Mag. sac. Palatii. Polo, Quir.* v. 5. p. 127.

³ *Shelhorn. Amæn. lit.* v. 2. *Diff. de rel. &c. Flamini*, p. 38. *Thuanus*, lib. 8. A. D. 1551.

tracted a dangerous intimacy, and was returned to Rome, a proselite to his impious system, (p. 300). Thus does our godly writer, who is never at a loss for words to abuse those, whom he knoweth nothing of, or disliketh, calumniate a true servant of God. *Valdes*, or rather *Valdesso*, was a *Spanish* nobleman, and a soldier; who, in the latter part of his life, that there might be (as he said) a time between fighting and dying, devoted himself intirely to the duties of religion. His piety did not shew itself in controversy, but in inculcating experimental and practical religion, and in magnifying that faith and holiness which planteth the life of God in the souls of men. This was his offensive and *impious system*.

I *Valdesso's* 110 Considerations, translated by Mr. *Farrar*, and published in 1638, a small 4to. *Walton's* Lives, p. 319, in the life of *Herbert*. Amongst *Erasmus's* Epistles, there are two very respectful ones addressed to him. L. 19 p. 619. L. 22. p. 824.

Beza, in one of his letters, is extremely severe upon *Valdesso's* Considerations. It is a great pity that good man's zeal should carry him to such unwarrantable lengths, against a book that hath all the marks of a sincere and cordial piety. He should rather have blessed God for that degree of vital and experimental religion expressed in it; and have considered, with his *English* translator, that "*Valdesso* lived where the S. S. were in no reputation, and therefore no marvel that he should speak so slightly of them; but rather, on the contrary, it may seem a marvelous thing in our eyes, to have a statesman in those parts, at that time, so far illuminated and taught of God as he was." *Farrar's* preface. V *Beze* Ep. Theol. Ep. 4. N. Geneva 1575. Ed. 8vo. p. 40.

Caracciolus

Caracciolus was that celebrated marquis of *Vico*, who, though nephew (by his mother) to *Paul IV*, left *Italy* for the sake of religion; and flying to *Geneva*, lived there the remainder of his days; and was therefore an avowed heretic. He, *Valdesso*, *Flaminius*, and the marchioness of *Pescara*, were awakened to a sense of religion, by the powerful preaching of *Martyr* and *Ochin* at *Naples*¹. The marchioness was a most excellent and exemplary lady, but so strongly suspected of heresy, that when poor *Carnefecca* was some years afterwards brought to the stake, by that hunter of heretics, his holiness *Pius V*, the chief of the charge against him was, his dangerous intimacy with the sectarists in *Germany*, and in *Italy* with the marchioness *Pescara*, and *Julia de Gonzaga*, suspected heretics²; the high sin of which, he was fully convinced of — when he was burnt for it.

These were *Pole*'s intimates at *Viterbo*, and who did him great honour. *Quirini*, in his defence of the society, gives up *Carnefecca* and *Caracciolus* as apostates, but contendeth strenuously for the orthodoxy of the marchioness and *Flaminius*³; but as two of the vicars of *Christ*⁴ did not think so favourably of them,

¹ See the life of *Caracciolus* in *Italian* and *Latin* by *Beza*; and in *English* by *Crasshaw*. 1688. a thin 12mo. *Thuanus*, L. 3. A. D. 1547, & L. 84. A. D. 1586.

² *Thuanus*, lib. 39. A. D. 1566.

³ V. 2. *Diat.* p. cix---cxvi. & v. 3. *De Viterbiensi sodalitis*, p. 59---72, & v. 4. *App.* p. i---viii.

⁴ *Paul IV*, who put *Flaminius* down as an heretic in the

the cardinal must not expect to be believed, before those infallible beings, who cannot err in matters of faith.

Whilst *Pole* was happy in the enjoyment of such good company, he had the mortification to hear of his mother's execution. Her behaviour, as lord *Herbert* relates it, at the time of her attainder was masculine and vehement¹; but upon the scaffold it was so extraordinary, that it is difficult how to speak of it. The softest manner of expressing our sentiments, is to say, that her resentment, for her cruel usage, and long confinement, was so strong, that it had turned her head; or she never could have behaved, at the close of life, in so frantic a manner, running backwards and forwards, and forcing the executioner to do his office, as he could. A martyr (p. 313) (as her son called her) always submits to persecution with patience. That the legate suffered a good deal upon this account, can easily be conceived: and his sorrow must be the more pungent, as he must be sensible, that his own folly and perverseness had been the more immediate occasion of the violent deaths of all that were near and dear to him; and though we cannot but lament, that the countess should fall by the arbitrary will of a

the *Index lib. prohib.* Romæ 1559: and *Pius V.* who burnt *Carnefecca* for being acquainted with the heretical marchioness.

¹ Life of *Henry VIII.* p. 511.

tyrannical ruler, her son, however, deserved to feel all that he did feel.

But *Pole's christian fortitude*, (p. 315) must be contrasted with *Tully's childish impiety*, (p. 314), upon the death of his favourite daughter *Tullia*, when nothing would satisfy the fond parent, but she *was to be changed into a goddess, and divine honours decreed her*, (p. 314). The cardinal indeed did not go quite so far: he was content privately to consider his mother as a saint and a martyr, and an additional patron and advocate in heaven¹. And he might perhaps sometimes comfort himself, that his church might in time do it; as the deification of ancient *Rome* is exactly copied in the canonization of modern *Rome*, where every Pope claims the privilege of adding fresh saints to the church. And whatever worship was paid by the ancient pagans to their heroes or inferior deities, the Romanists still pay to their saints and martyrs; and exhibit, in the offices of their church, those guilty instances, to which the book of *Wisdom* ascribes the origin of idolatry², (p. 315).

¹ *Bono . . . animo finis: hæc quoque accessit ad cæteros patronos, & advocatos, quos in cælis habemus.*

Quirini, v. 2. Vita Poli, sect. XL. p. 59.

² *Wisdom, ch. XIV. v. 12, & seq.*

(848)

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON SECTION THE SIXTH.

TO prepare his reader for one of the most interesting events of *Pole's* life, Mr. *P.*, by the help of the bishop of *Meaux*, is enabled to harangue upon the deplorable and corrupted state of the church of *Rome*, for several centuries together, with respect to morals and religion, *in its head and members*, (p. 319). From the same channel does he derive that shew of learning and reading, to evince the necessity of, what we acknowledge, and readily admit, *the reformation of the church*, (p. 320). By an unfortunate mistake, he discovers this ostentation of literature to be a borrowed stock of knowledge; and betrays his ignorance, by referring to the younger bishop *Durandus*, as preparing *matters which were to be discussed in the council of Vienna*, (p. 319). Now had Mr. *P.* looked into any ecclesiastical historian whatever, he would have found, that *Durandus's* under-
taking

taking was discussed at the council of Vienne¹ in Dauphiné in France; but Bossuet, by only saying Vienne, and not being more particular, led his transcriber into this gross mistake².

This lamented degeneracy of morals, which *Durandus*, and *Bossuet's* other authorities complained of, our author confirms by adding, *the opulence of the clergy, or the inconveniences which always attend immoderate wealth,—the croisades, or holy wars,—absence of bishops from their dioceses, relaxation of canonical penitence, the importation of foreign vices,—a gloomy, unprofitable, litigious kind of learning* (p. 321); but above all, the notorious profligacy of most, or several (as corrected in the *errata*) of the Popes and their court, (p. 322), as evils that called aloud for redress. And *these general causes of the necessity of a reformation were quickened into birth by the following event*, (p. 323): namely, *Luther's preaching against indulgences*. All this we readily allow; and humbly thank him for thus bespeaking the favourable attention of the public to *Luther's* opposition to the enormous corruptions of his church. But when he tells us, *the grant of indulgences had been as ancient*

¹ *Cave, hist. lit. v. i. App. p. 10 & p. 13. V. 2. p. 525.* This was that famous council under Clement V, A. D. 1311, which persecuted and abolished the knights Templars.

² *Bossuet, hist. des Variations, &c. v. i. lib. i. p. 1--5.* from whom Mr. P. has transcribed without acknowledgment (his constant practice) p. 319---321 of his book, and pilfered his vouchers.

as christianity, (p. 323), we presume to differ a little from him; and fear, he hath too boldly advanced what he cannot prove: for our reading tells us the direct contrary. We find that some of the champions of his own church were obliged to give up the point of antiquity. Thus cardinal *Cajetan* owns, “ the
 “ first rise of *indulgences* is very uncertain:
 “ that we have no account of it either in the
 “ S S. or in the writings of the ancient
 “ doctors, whether *Greek* or *Latin*; all that
 “ we know is, that St. *Gregory* instituted the
 “ indulgences of stations¹.” To the same purpose bishop *Fisher*, when writing against *Luther* himself, owns, that they were not in use in the first ages of the church². And we learn from *Prierias*, another of that heresiarch’s opponents, that they were made known to us *not* from the authority of S S, but from the greater authority of the church of Rome and her bishops³.

These concessions from such warm champions of the *Romish* faith, should make the modern defenders of that church less peremp-

¹ *Dupin, eccles. hist. 16 cent. 1st p^e. p. 393.* It is a wonder how this cardinal, and *Alphonso de Castro*, who says the same in his book *adversus hæres. lib. 8. p. 577*, could escape the pruning knife of the inquisitor *Sotomajor*, who has put *Polydore Virgil* in his *index expurgatorius*, p. 853, for saying much the same thing in his book *de invent. rerum, lib. 8. c. 1.*

² *Johannes Rossensis de indulg. &c. art. 18.*

³ *Dial. Sylv. Prieriatis, art. 66. Inter opp. Lutheri, v. 1. ed. Witt. p. CLXVI.*

tory,

tory, and more cautious and modest in their assertions: for, however they who know no better may be deceived by a specious representation of absurd falshoods, the ignorance or the impudence of such absurd zealots will but the more expose them to others. As the writers above alleged give up the argument from *S.S.* which is more antient than that drawn from *antiquity*; what will our biographer make of this latter proof? It was towards the middle of the 9th century before we hear the word *indulgences* mentioned, in the sense which the present church of *Rome* holds. And all that Mr. *P.* says is wide of the point; for wherever he got his knowledge, the instances he has recourse to in proof of *the antiquity and lawfulness of indulgences*, (p. 323), do not respect the punishments of the *next* world, but, what nobody denies, the power of the church in mitigating ecclesiastical censures in *this*. In the dark ages of ignorance and superstition, private bishops first began the gainful trade of *indulgences*: which attempt succeeding well, the *Roman* Pontiffs limited their power, and monopolized the scandalous traffic to themselves'. The first plenary *indulgence* is said to have been granted by *Innocent III.* in the council of *Lateran* in

¹ *Mosheim's ecclef. hist.* Cent. XII, v. 1, p. 594, 595. For a full account of the enormous doctrine of *indulgences*, see *Lettres sur les jubiles*, by Mr. *Chais*, minister of the *French* church in the *Hague*, 3 vol. 8vo, 1751. An extract of which is given in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée*.

1215; and the next by *Boniface VIII*, in 1399, for the jubilee year. From this time they became more frequent, more avowed and shamefully venal. It is owned, that the horrid prostitution of these grants was the glaring disorder of those times, and had raised such a general discontent in all orders, as endangered the grace itself, and the authority which conferred it, to fall into contempt, (p. 324). Wherein then did *Luther* do amiss in opposing this flagrant iniquity? We desire no better apology for the zeal which animated that man of God, than Mr. P's own confession: himself acknowledges their great abuse. And the Pope's agents in the dispersing these *indulgences* behaved in the most outrageous manner, publickly prostituting the power of delivering souls out of *Purgatory*; and openly, and without any sense of shame, spent the money collected for that purpose, in the stews, and the tavern, in gaming, and in every thing that was vile'.

Thus whilst a vicious court, and its profligate dependants, enjoyed the spoils of a weak and puerile devotion, those of that church, who had godliness with understanding, could only bewail, in private, the miserable condition of true religion. To oppose the torrent was, they feared, above the power and capacity of any private person. Those who had attempted to rouse the court of *Rome*,

¹ *Thuanus*, lib. 1. A. D. 1516.

had been so unsuccessful, that they despaired of any reformation being effected: and *Albert Crantzius*, the famous civilian, and dean of *Hamburg*, who, in his youth, had sunk under the opposition raised against him, for some censures of the court and doctrine of *Rome*, reading, just before his death, *Luther's* propositions concerning *indulgences*, is reported to have said, *Frater, frater, abi in cellam, & dic miserere mei Deus*'. "The bold efforts of this new adversary of papal ambition and despotism, were indeed honoured with the applauses of many, but few or none entertained hopes of their success". But no sooner had he raised his *warning voice*, than his endeavours were answered beyond all expectation: and this obscure and inconsiderable friar proved an instrument in the hands of providence of that religious revolution, which almost immediately commenced.

Mr. P. hath adopted a vulgar error; and imputes the first rise of this opposition, to a jealousy *between the Austin and Dominican fryars*, (p. 324); and that *Luther*, out of resentment, that the monks of his order were not employed in vending these holy wares, was appointed *by their general to preach in opposition to their rivals*, (p. 324). But *Luther's* general character will clear him from

1 *Kortholt, hist. eccles. p. 718.* See also *Wolb's* preface to *Crantzius's* works.

2 *Mosheim, v. 2. p. 15.*

this base insinuation. He was not a person likely to be swayed by such paltry motives: and, moreover, the thing itself is false. This lucrative commission was ever principally intrusted with the *Dominicans*: and for half a century before *Luther's* time, Mr. P. will be hard put to it, to find any *Austin* friar employed in this office. And besides, this very commission, which is supposed to have raised the anger and envy of *Luther*, because the *Dominicans* were preferred to his order, was offered to, and refused by the *Franciscans*. The office itself was so odious, that it was not at all desirable to be any ways concerned in the turpitude of such infamous traffic. None of *Luther's* cotemporary adversaries ever reproached him with such ignoble and selfish motives of opposition. “ Even the
 “ lying *Cochlæus* was silent on this head
 “ during the life of *Luther*, though after
 “ his death, he broached the calumny I am
 “ here refuting. But such was the scandalous
 “ character of this man, who was notorious
 “ for fraud, calumny, lying, and their
 “ sister-vices, that the more respectable enemies
 “ of *Luther* were ashamed to make use
 “ either of his name or testimony.”

The insinuation that *Luther* opposed the sale of these *indulgences*, in obedience to *Staupitz's* commands, is as ill grounded as the former suggestion. For that reformer, in a

1 *Mosheim*, v. 2. p. 17, 18. Mr. *Macclaine's* note.

letter to his vicar-general, informs him, that such offence had been taken at his propositions, that against his will he was obliged to appear in public; and therefore he begged him to transmit his trifles (*bas meas ineptias*) to the Pope; not, as he adds, that I wish you in the same danger with myself, since I have undertaken these things at my own hazard alone. Christ will see whether they are his or mine which I have said'. Now if *Luther's* preaching had been by order of *Staupitz*, would he, in a private letter, written to him, have taken all the blame upon himself? Would he not rather have availed himself of his superior's command? But *Luther's* further proceedings demonstrate, that his opposition did not arise from any other motive, than a zeal for the honour of God, and the injured cause of religion. This was reason enough for a man of his piety, ability and courage to exert himself, to attack the impious, novel doctrine, and efficacy of these pardons, . . . and to discredit them in the minds of the people, (p. 324).

Amongst the several catholic divines, who thought themselves obliged to oppose him, we

I — *Non quod te mihi conjungi periculo velim, meo solius periculo hæc egisse volo. Christus viderit, sua ne sint an mea, quæ dixi. ---* He adds, *Cæterum minacibus illis meis amicis, nihil habeo quod respondeam, nisi illud Reuchlinianum: qui pauper est, nihil timet, nihil potest perdere. Res nec habeo nec cupio. Famam & honorem, si habui, assidue nunc perdit, qui perdit.* *Luth. opp. v. i. p. 99, 100. Witt. See Seckendorf, lib. i. p. 15, & 33.*

are

are repeatedly told, *Echius distinguished himself*, (p. 324). We guess this formidable hero to be no other, than *Eckius* of *Ingoldstadt*; who, as well as the other earliest opponents of *Luther*, undertook a task, they were not at all qualified for; as they were not to be named with their *antagonist* in point of knowledge, or ability. Such a contempt of them and their learned labours, had *Luther* and his friends, that they thought greater service could not be done his cause, than by republishing, amongst his works, the lucubrations of his adversaries'. Mr. P. has pitched upon *Eckius*, as the greatest champion of them all: his strictures (*obelisci*) upon, and disputation with *Luther*, being of the same class with the rest, are honoured with a place in the same volume with his brother combatants; and by this means they still live. But alas! what hopes could the orthodox have of converting the heterodox, when, as *Eckius* himself told his associate *Hogstrate* (that well-known foe to *Reuchlin*, *Erasmus*, and *Luther*, to learning, religion, and common sense) that when he had set in battle-array ever so many fathers, that rash heretic *Luther* shamelessly denied them all; and ventured, moreover, to assert, that he alone would confute a thousand such, and

I *Tetzel's*, *Prierias's*, and *Eckius's* performances occur in the first volume of *Luther's* works. Pope *Leo X's* bull against *Luther*, is inserted in the 2^d volume, where, if I may so say, it is notably baited.

with no other argument than this, that Christ was the foundation of the church, and none other should any man lay : *but*, says he, *I clearly confuted him, by producing the 12 foundations out of the Revelations* (c. xxi. v. 14). This was an irrefragable answer indeed ! The Divine proceeds in his narration ; that *Luther* maintained, that the *Greeks* and others, not under the obedience of the Pope, might be saved. He said too, he wished there was no mendicant order at all : and he spoke also many other scandalous and absurd things, such as, that a Council, as it consisted of men, might err ; that purgatory could not be proved from S. S. &c. as you will see when you read our disputation¹. Excellent arguments to convince such a man as *Luther* : and this is his own account too. And this was the principal of those *catholic divines*, who were pitched upon to confute that reformer. And could Mr. P. have thought of any abler adversary, no doubt he would not have named *Eckius*.

Can we therefore wonder, that when *Luther* was resisted only by those, who wrote like barbarians, and reasoned like ideots, that his writings were received with such universal applause, or that S. S. reason and antiquity should not triumph over such minute and

--- *Dum ei (sc. Luthero) Augustinum, Hieronymum, Ambrosium, Gregorium, Cyprianum, Chrysostomum, Leonem & Bernardum, super illo adducerem cum Theophylo, omnes negavit absque rubore, &c. Ep. Eckii ad J. Hochstraten. inter opp. Lutheri, v. 1. p. 335. Ed. Witt.*

despi-

despicable opponents? The reasoning of *Eckius* being so weak, he had then recourse to his friend inquisitor *Hogstrate's* stronger method of conviction; and attempted to accomplish the ruin of the *Saxon* reformer, by prevailing on the Pope to issue out his *anathemas*, and excommunicate the man who could not otherwise be confuted. His own elegant account of this shall be given below, and in his own words too'. *Luther's* undaunted resolution no more regarded the Pope's bull, than the writings of his creatures: and to shew his design of leaving a corrupt and superstitious church, he publicly burnt this bull against himself, and those decretals and canons which had established the Pope's despotic jurisdiction. From him did he appeal to a general council: and in the mean time he strengthened himself by appealing to the unbiassed suffrage of the learned; he exposed the antichristian doctrines of popery; he vindicated himself and his cause by many learned writings, which were every where greedily sought after, and occasioned an alarming se-

I Minuta contra Lutherum est concepta, proximo consistorio cardinalium expedietur. Etsi Eckii consilium sequetur sanctissimus, tunc omnes cardinales & omnes episcopi se subscribent . . . Stetimus nuper, Papa, duo cardinales, doctor Hispanus, & ego, per quinque horas in deliberatione hujus negotii, singuli rogabamur nostras dare sententias. Bullæ forma placebit bonis, mixta enim est ex veterum conciliorum ac pontificum, & novorum consuetudine, errores sunt 41 expresse condemnati. Ep. Eckii, inter opp. Lutheri, v. 2. p. 48.

cession from the church and authority of the Roman Pontiff.

In the midst of this confusion Leo X. died (p. 327), who, from his exaltation to the papacy, was remarkable for little more than associating with wits and buffoons, and spending his time in dissipations and pleasures of the lowest kind¹. In the beginning of his book our author had spoken disrespectfully of *Leo's* successor *Adrian VI*: but now when he is introduced as opposing *these innovations*, his zeal and learning as a divine is insisted upon. And what care did he take to heal *the divisions which troubled the peace of the church*, and *the corruptions which had been the occasion*, and served as a pretence for them? Why truly, he did think, we are told, of removing whatever had given offence in the grant of indulgences. Having lain aside this design, he next thought, of re-establishing the use of public penitence, but . . . *the depraved state of Christianity rendered it absolutely impracticable*. He complained, that the officers of his own court were not disposed to reform several unwarrantable practices, which caused the innovators to say, that every thing was venal at Rome. The politic Soderino told him, such a step would only serve to make the disturbers of the public tranquillity more insolent, and heighten their credit with the people. Was his intended

¹ *Histoire des Papes*, v. 4. 4to. A la Haye, 1733. p. 417, & seq.

reformation to take place, they would go on to demand other essential changes, and thus throw every thing into confusion, (p. 327, 328). Can a member of the church of Rome say this, and not blush? Is it not a full justification of the reformer's opposition to the tenets of that infatuated church, whose rulers, in the language of the sacred volumes, seeing they did see, and not perceive, and hearing, they did hear and not understand. ¹ And yet this Pope was by much the best of any in those days, and the very reverse of his luxurious predecessor: a Divine, temperate, serious, and willing to correct those corruptions, which, by being allowed, gave such encouragement to opposers, as threatened the total ruin of the papal power. For this, his memory has been severely treated by the parasites of the court of Rome; who, though they reckoned him a good priest, have looked upon him but as a midling Pope ².

After him the shuffling Clement VII. and the subtle Paul III. followed the example of their predecessors; talking indeed loudly of reformation, but making *fruitless efforts of assembling a general council*, though the latter had sworn to call one within two years after his election, (p. 328). But during these consultations, we are informed *the new opinions had still continued to make some fresh breach on,*

¹ Mark 4. v. 12.

² Pallavicini, lib. 2. c. 9. n. 1.

what is termed, *the received belief of all antiquity, and gain over new profelytes*, (p. 328). And well they might, when the learned (by the example of *Luther's* intrepidity) had got over the dread of that *brutum fulmen*, the Pope's anathemas; and had the courage to expose to public derision, the weak props which supported the arrogated false claims of antiquity, unity and universality. When the imposture was once laid open and incontestably proved, the wonder ceases, that so many states and kingdoms embraced with open arms this revival of christianity; and searching the S.S., (which before were hid from them) they found what the reformers said to be true: they therefore gladly heard them; they received, and believed their word, and gave it free admittance.

To convince us how weary the world was of the exorbitant encroachments, and gross corruptions of the see of *Rome*, Mr. P. has condescended to relate the rapid progress (p. 328, 329) which the reformation made in several countries; which is no weak argument in favour of it. The *Anti-Trinitarians* and *Anabaptists*, are inserted, only to triumph over the enormous licentiousness of new opinions, (p. 329). Could the reformers help this? Who were more strenuous than they in detecting the error of those sects? But the synod of *Scrinia* came to this wild resolution, of allowing every one to believe as he thought proper. What the canons of that obscure
and

and unheard-of synod were, I know not: but the *resolution*, here mentioned, was more agreeable to sense and reason, than, with the fathers of the *Trent synod*, to damn men, for not believing, what they could not possibly believe.

But, says our historian, *the reformation* . . . was so far from producing any amendment, that the morals of those who relinquished the old religion, became visibly more degenerate, (p. 330). We do not pretend to say, that all who came over to the reformation, were, or continued *saints*: but it is strange, if they were visibly more degenerate, when, besides the same calls to a virtuous life which they had before, they wanted in this *new religion*, all the easy pacifiers of a tender and awakened conscience; for the reformers had no pardon-mongers and indulgences, no corporal penances, or pretended absolutions, no masses for the dead, no expected deliverance out of purgatory, to offer, to lessen the dread, and remove the punishment of sin. They did not thus deceive sinners. They exhorted their converts to trust in no external ordinances, or formal devotion, but to amend and correct their hearts: and they assured them, that an holy life was as necessary to salvation, as a sound faith. If therefore their *morals* were not better than before, it was neither the fault of their religion, or their teachers, who omitted nothing that could manifest the natural, odious deformity of sin.

They

They did indeed acknowledge, that the many painful observances of the religion they had relinquished, (p. 331), did but keep men in ignorance of the spirituality of religion, and could never produce that saving conversion, which could arise only from conviction of sin. The mysteries of religion, they inculcated upon the foot they found them placed in the gospel, as articles of faith supported by rational evidence, and contradictory neither to reason, nor the experience of their senses. In the eucharist, they considered the virtual energy of Christ's presence in that federal rite, which they deemed, the representative application of their Redeemer's death and passion, the memorial of reconciliation with God thereby effected, and the open acknowledgments of blessings expected from, and secured to mankind by the merits of it. They also laid before their hearers the progressive and iniquitous steps which the ambitious Pontiffs of Rome had taken in the iron ages of ignorance and barbarism, (p. 3), to maintain their unauthorised power and grandeur; which was first bestowed upon them by a tyrant who had murdered his master. And what was very extraordinary, that this temporal power of the vice-gerent of Him, who declared his kingdom was not of this world, commenced in the same century, and almost at the same time, with the impostor Mahomet: that each of them pretended to infallibility and universal supremacy; and each propagated their

their claims, *by the like method*, fire and sword.

If therefore the *innovators*, as Mr. P. is fond of calling them, were men of *degenerate morals*, they were so against knowledge and conviction, and against every motive which could make sin appear in all its horrors. They had in this *new faith* (if it must be so termed) no salvos for an ambiguous repentance: personal and persevering sanctity of life could only, they were told, insure their future happiness. But the candid Mr. P, that he may not be thought to have asserted any thing rashly, brings his demonstration of this *visible degeneracy*: *the Lutheran magistrates of the imperial cities*, says this bold assertor, *petitioned Charles V. to cause auricular confession to be re-established by his authority, as the people were remarkably more licentious since it had been disused*, (p. 330).

This extraordinary article of intelligence, for which no proof is brought, has hitherto escaped the notice of other historians. Had our author procured the deposition of any of *the spectators*, we should not have known what to have replied: or rather, had he known more of the history of those times, he would not have been so positive. When the Emperor, to gratify the *spiritual father of the church*, had entered into a religious war against the *protestant* princes and states in Germany, and sought to bring back by military arguments, into the pale of the church, those

those apostates, and their heretical subjects, he compelled the places, which fell into his hands, to receive his *new confession of faith*, called the *interim*; that accommodating, healing *creed*, which was to be received, till the Pope and a *Council* should settle religion. In some places he was obliged to change the magistrates before he could carry his point¹: and the following cities petitioned him, that they might *still* enjoy the *Augsburgh* confession, and that their religion should *not* be altered, *viz.* *Memingen, Bibrach, Ravensburg, Kempen, Isne, Strasburgh, and Constance*². So that we may fairly conclude, Mr. *P's spectators* did not see *this* depravity in all the imperial cities. Inferior cities indeed, who could make no resistance, were forced to acquiesce and obey the Emperor, who was more successful and expeditious in enacting his decrees, than the council of *Trent* was theirs; the missionaries of the former converting more with their muskets, than the Pope, in the latter, with his canons: though after all, as the deputies of *Strasburgh* told *Granvill*, the Emperor's prime minister, "A man might be burnt to death," (or knocked on the head, which is the same thing) "but

¹ *Augsburgh* and *Ulm*. *Thuanus*, lib. 5. A. D. 1548. *Sleidan*, b. 21. p. 469. 472.

² *Thuanus*, lib. 4. A. D. 1547. *Sleidan*, b. 18. p. 416. b. 20. p. 464. b. 21. p. 469, 478, & 485.

" that

“ that he could not be forced to believe other-
 “ wise than he did’.”

At last, after many fruitless *projects* of *three pontificates*, (p. 331), and when eight years of the *fourth* had passed *with the same irresolution*, (p. 332), a general council was determined to be held. And the city of *Trent* was pitched upon, as the most convenient for that purpose, which, Mr. P. says, is *not subject to any sovereign*, (p. 333): tho’ *Sleidan* assures us, it was under the dominion of *Ferdinand King of Bohemia*, and of the *Romans*². But as he was an enemy and persecutor of the reformers, they had good reason to object to that place, though their objections were over-ruled. The Pope, to shew his desire of a council, *nominated* three legates to open it, *viz.* the cardinals *Morone*, *Paris*, and *Pole*. Of these, the first was the chief or president³. And the last of them, amongst other advantages, was, as our author tells us, *known to the northern nations for his lenity, and esteemed and beloved by them for it*, (p. 333). But as Mr. P. in the pro-

¹ *Sleidan*, b. 20. p. 466.

² *Idem*. b. 14. p. 292. And *Pallavicini* says, it was *urbs Ferdinando beneficiaria*, lib. 4. c. 17. n. 8. Since the treaty of *Munster*, the bishop of *Trent* is suffragan to the archbishop of *Saltzburg*, having before been subject to the patriarch of *Aquileia*. It is in the *Austrian* dominions in *Germany*, on the river *Adige* or *Etsch*, *Athesis* says Mr. P. He might as well say, *London* is washed by the river *Tbamisis*.

³ *Morono præcipue . . . legatio concilii demandata, quasi inter collegas principum.* *Pallav.* lib. 5. c. 1. n. 7.

gress of this life, has not made any mention of *Pole's* travels in the *North*; and as, amongst his letters published by *Quirini*, there are none from any *Northern* correspondents; we may ask, how the *Northern* countries could know so well a man, who appears to have been an utter stranger to them. Unless Mr. *P.* reckons every country a *Northern* one, that lies *North* of *Rome*: but we can hardly think so accurate a writer would express himself in so vague a manner, when he was writing, not in *Italy*, but in *England*. As he took the characters of the other legates from *Pallavicini*, he had better have contented himself with what is there said of his hero, and is expressive enough¹, than to have attempted to have added any thing of his own, or at least, nothing but what was consistent with his own narration in the course of his history.

The patent for this commission being made out, (p. 333, 334), the legates went to *Trent*, and opened the council, “and staid idling “there for seven months²:” and no bishops coming, they were forced, through mere shame, to dissolve their little assembly³. Thus, to use our historian's words, *the general*

¹ *Alter Polus, in theologia naviter versatus, & morum sanctitate, splendore sanguinis, et exilii atque ærumnarum gloria, quas pro Romana sede tuenda tolerabat, cunctis venerabilis. Lib. 5. c. 1. n. 7.*

² *Legatos septem ipsos menses Tridenti plane otiatos. Idem. lib. 5. c. 4. n. 19.*

³ *Idem. ibid.*

welfare of christianity was at a stand from considerations which ought not to have influenced their conduct, who were entrusted with the chief government of it, (p. 336). As this reflection is so severe a censure upon the heads and rulers of his church, we leave him to be chastised by the zealots of his own party, for this full discovery of his father's ignominy, (2^d p^t, p. 226).

The breathing time that our cardinal had after this dissolution, giveth his historian the opportunity to leave him at *his usual studies*, (p. 339), and return to *England*: where *Henry*, he says, *exhibited a scene of rapacity and sacrilege, which, till then, had wanted a precedent, and, for the honour of human nature, has not been copied since*, (p. 336). And this was the dissolution of the *lesser tenements* (p. 337) of religion, such as colleges, chantries, guilds, &c. Here again our author's old assistant, *Mr. Dod*, furnishes him with his quota of materials: but though he kindly supplied him with every thing relating to *these establishments* (except the account of guilds, taken from *Dugdale*) yet is he kept, as before, behind the curtain, and most ungratefully deprived of the thanks due for his services'. The collegiate foundations were quickly put out of their pain. All that was intended, with regard to them, was, to put them upon a more secure establishment, that,

1 *Dod*, v. i. p. 115, 116.

the useless donations of superstition being lopped off, the cultivation of true virtue and knowledge might meet with the due encouragement such foundations deserved, which were dedicated to the service of God, and the education of youth.

The motive alledged for the dissolution of the chantries, guilds, &c. was not *the expence* the King *had been at in dissolving monasteries, and reforming abuses in the church*, (p. 337), (this is Mr. *Dod's* embellishment) but the King's expences in his wars with *France* and *Scotland*, the mismanagement of their governors, and the misemployment of their revenues. "The chantry-lands," says *Collier*, "were given for the benefit of the dead, and settled, as it were, upon the other world . . . And as Popes have often taken money to let souls out of purgatory, so the King took land, one would almost think, to keep them in." And as indulgences had of late years been so largely granted, the parliament perhaps thought with *Erasmus*, that purgatory might be almost stripped of its inhabitants: and as its very existence was called in question, there was therefore the less occasion for money and *masses*, to pray departed souls out of a place, they might never have been in; and so, to save their own

¹ *Collier*, v. 2. p. 207. ² *Idem. ibid.*

³ *Erasmi opp. tom. v. c. 359.* Cited by Dr. *Fortin*, *life of Erasmus*, v. 1. p. 114. Note.

estates, made over to him the property of the dead. But death prevented *Henry* from taking possession of these lands, “ which *Edward VI*’s ministry had the credit and profit of .”

But besides this, the bishops of his own new foundation were so impoverished, it seems, that the first incumbents lived on the benevolence of their clergy, and other well-disposed persons, (p. 337). Here Mr. *Dod*’s zeal carried him a little too far, for he is not usually guilty of such mistakes, and has led our author, who knew no better, into the same error. The reference, in both these historians, is made to the same place in *Collier*; who, in his account of the reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, speaking of the mischiefs done to the bishoprics of *Henry VIII*’s erection, does say this of those bishops, who, in the course of her reign, were advanced to those sees¹; and cites *Heylin*, as his voucher². But this havoc of the revenues of those sees, not being made in *Henry*’s reign, is impertinently and invidiously brought in to asperse that King, for what he did not do. Mr. *Dod* is indeed principally to answer for this blunder: it was copied from him. And Mr. *P*, rejoiced to find such a charge against *Henry*; and above consulting the authority

¹ *Dod*, v. i. p. 347.

² *Collier*, v. 2: p. 480.

³ *Heylin*, hist. of *Queen Elizabeth*, p. 156, 157. No reference to page in *Collier*.

he appealed to, ventured to improve the invective, and to fix the *odium* more clearly upon the King: he alters *new bishops*, into *first incumbents*; and, after the words, *benevolence of their clergy*, adds, out of the fertility of his own invention, *and other well disposed persons*.

The King, it is asserted, caused the parliament to give him 70 manors belonging to the see of York: and Mr. Dod, (to speak tenderly) in saying this, and that the archbishop had very little in exchange, has acted very unfairly. But this last particular our better informed historian drops, though Collier, Mr. Dod's oracle, says, that the archbishop had *several lands, &c.* in exchange¹; which, Heylin says, were of the like yearly value, but of an extended rent². Cranmer too gave up twelve manors belonging to Canterbury; and Bonner, says Mr. Dod, (which is omitted here) was obliged to do the like with some belonging to London; to which I add, from Heylin, "but not without some reasonable compensation, or allowance for them." And Cranmer remonstrated against it³. The large possessions, also, of Durham were, many years, secularized, (p. 337). In whose reign? not in Henry's. Therefore our two catholic historians should not have placed it here, to

¹ Collier, v. 2. p. 207.

² Heylin, hist. Edward VI. p. 18.

³ Collier, v. 2. p. 214.

aggravate *his* sacrilege; nor indeed any where else, for it never took place. In *Edward VIth's* reign, something was done, which, if no more than the title of an act of parliament be read, does look a little like it. In the last year of that young King, a bill was passed for the *suppression* of the bishopric of *Durham* — but it was, *to found two new sees*, with deans and chapters out of it. “The temporalities, indeed, were *secularized*, “turned wholly to a county palatine, and “given to the duke of *Northumberland*. — “But that the grant was executed in form of “law, is more than appears¹.” And the *many years* it was thus *secularized*, could not be more than two months at most, if at all: for the grant was made in *May*, and the King died the *July* following, so that both these designs proved abortive².

After this spurt against the King of *England*, we return to the subject of the history. Peace being now concluded between the Emperor, and the King of *France*; and those princes being solicitous for the calling of a council: the Pope, after much *seeming reluctance and delays*, (p. 354), summoned one to meet again at the same place as before; and made our cardinal a second time one of the legates, who, that himself and his *associates* might have the highest notion of the

¹ *Collier*, v. 2. p. 326, 327.

² *Burnet*, v. 2. p. 215, 216.

importance of their commission, *employed a little leisure time in composing a work on the nature and end of general councils*, (p. 340). A pretty, florid, and harmless composition truly! which, as if it was designed only for true and trusty friends, proceeds altogether upon borrowed principles, and argues from them, as if they were incontestibly allowed: And however the author might be admired at *Rome or Trent*, he must not expect the same complaisance from those, who will require not *sounds but things*, not words, but arguments. Such inquirers will, at first view, discover the cardinal legate to go, in this treatise, upon the same principles he went in his book *on the church's unity*; and that, so far from *avoiding all extreme opinions*, (p. 350), he inculcates, with equal arrogance¹, the boundless *prerogative of the see of Rome*; and in defiance of ecclesiastical history, his fancy and his prejudices ran away with his judgment: and the bold assertor, the weak reasoner, and the absurd interpreter of S S, characterise the author of this specious performance.

Whilst *Pole* staid behind at *Rome* after his colleagues, and amused himself in writing the treatise we have been speaking of, his holiness allowed the other legates time to learn the lesson which their associate had kindly

¹ See a small instance of this hinted at before, p. 130. and Mr. P's own extract of the treatise itself.

composed for them; for it was nine months after their arrival at *Trent*, before they proceeded upon business. But how consummate in the mean time, must the wickedness and dissimulation of the court of *Rome* be! The legates, those *angels of peace* (p. 350), as they are hypocritically stiled, were sent to *Trent*, saith the junior legate *Pole*, among other things to revive *decayed discipline*, to prevent the *increase of heresy*, and reform the *extremely corrupt manners of the christian world*, (p. 348). And yet they remained there, for a long time together, in an intirely torpid state. And why? Because his holiness had other game to play, and was taking more effectual methods to carry these points. He did not know, but, (for all their objections to the place) the *Lutherans* might appear, and defend their doctrine: he did not know, how forcible their reasoning, or their eloquence, might be: he did not care to trust the cause of the church altogether to a promiscuous assembly; the *Spanish*, and *French* bishops might be refractory, and join the discontented party. This guardian therefore and pastor of the church — exerted his hierarchicall office (p. 345), in securing the Emperor at all events; and sent his grandson cardinal *Farnese to Worms* (p. 351), to treat with his imperial Majesty to join their forces, and by the arm of the flesh to confute the heretics.

And we are further informed of the satisfaction the Pope took, at being assured the Emperor would draw his sword against them: but this was to be kept a profound secret; and that the council should not enter upon the dispatch of business, till matters were ripe, lest the Protestants should be made desperate; but, however, that so much of it might transpire, as should intimidate them¹. But, as this would not tell well in a protestant country, our candid and equitable historian intirely omits it, though *Pallavicini* (whom he closely follows) has not scrupled to relate it in his history of the council.—— Such were the honest and christian arts employed by him, who called himself the *first bishop of the christian world*; and to whom *Pole*, at this very time, was not ashamed to address himself in such words and language, *which cannot be read without horreur* (p¹ 2^d p. 241). To say to him, *Quem secundum Deum patrem & Dei patris locum & vices in terris gerentem agnoscimus*², is a profaneness, that all the dignity of the purple cannot excuse.

Thus it should seem, that those *angels of peace*, who were sent to *preside at the council*, (p. 350), were only appointed as masks to conceal the mean artifices and low designs of the pretended father of the church. From the very tenor of their instructions, it does not

¹ *Id. ibid. n. 4, 5.*

² *Poli ep. Paulo III. Quir. v. 4. p. 35.*

appear, that any lenient measures would be proposed; the authority of the holy see was to be established, and *the refractory and rebellious* OF WHAT CONDITION SOEVER, were to be *repressed by censures and ecclesiastical punishments* (p. 351). But as to the examination of articles of faith, or the discussion of what the protestants required, nothing less was designed; nothing less would be permitted: the legates were to propose everything, and to deliver — his holiness's determination. And therefore to shorten debates, and secure a majority, they *signified to the Pope — that it would be proper to appoint a treasurer, with a fund sufficient to answer the exigencies* (p. 351) of necessitous and dependent bishops. And not long after *Pole's* arrival in *Trent*, the legates gave it as their opinion to the Pope, that the *Lutheran* heresy, and the wickedness and enormities committed by the King of *England*, should be first presented, in form of a petition or complaint, to the animadversion of the council¹. By this we may judge, how free a council this was like to be.

Our author, willing to display his erudition, whilst he was in such good humour with the Emperor and the King of *France*, compares the behaviour of those most pious and respectable princes, with *Constantine's* de-

¹ Extracts from letters written to *Rome* from *Trent*, by the legates. *Quir.* v. 3. p. 212.

portment at the council of Nice (p. 353), whose very christianity has been called in question by some of the greatest names in the *Romish* church. And this we confess is done with great justice and propriety, as all the three princes were equally tormented with the violence and the squabbles of the ecclesiastics of their times; and found it necessary, upon particular occasions, to court their good will. But if the conduct of *Paul III.*, at the council of *Trent*, be compared with that of *Alexander* bishop of *Alexandria*, the greatest metropolitan in the world; the former will not appear to much advantage, as making himself both judge and party: whereas the other, having before censured *Arius*, and condemned his doctrine in his own provincial synod, at *Alexandria*, is said to have declined the honour of presiding at *Nice*; perhaps to obviate the complaints of the *Arians*, who looked upon him as a party, and highly prejudiced against them².

This example *Paul* should have followed. The protestants denied his supremacy; and desired a general free council, wherein they might appear, not as accused in order to be condemned, but as propounders of doctrines founded on SS, reason, and antiquity; and willing, as disputants, to enter into a thorough canvass and examination of them.

¹ *Bingham*, ecclesiast. ant. v. i. b. 2. c. 16. sect. 23.

² *Bower's* lives of the Popes, v. i. p. 130. 8vo. *Dub.* edit.

Here then was an error at first setting out, which could not but widen the breach, viz. the Pope's summoning the council, in his own name, and by his own authority, when that *very power* was one of the contested articles; and it was manifest, the whole would be conducted under the influence and direction of *him*, who could make and reward bishops for their services. They were sensible indeed, that the Popes, for many years, had assumed the power of convening such religious assemblies, but they knew, that from the beginning it was not so; that the Emperors and princes had, in more primitive times, exerted this part of their regal prerogative. They knew likewise, that this first general council of *Nice* was summoned immediately by *Constantine*, not by the bishop of *Rome*, who neither presided at it in person, or by his legates; for, properly speaking, the Emperor presided himself. But as far as such a distant fact can be ascertained: many antient writers affirm, that *Eustathius*, bishop of *Antioch*, took the lead; sat first on the right hand in the assembly; and did all the duties of the President's office. So that here appears nothing of the bishop of *Rome's* vicarial authority: neither did his deputies sign the canons first.

To return to the business of the council, (p.

1 See the authorities for this cited in *Richardson's Præl. Eccles.* v. 1. *De Nicæno concilio*, p. 273. and others cited in *Bower's lives of the Popes*, p. 129. 8va. *Dub. edit.*

352) before us. The legates, as was before observed, had been at *Trent* ever since the beginning of *March*; and it was towards the middle of *December* before *they opened the council* (p. 354); and though they had been there all that time, there was but a very inconsiderable appearance to proceed upon business: but their number being increased, after passing some inconsiderable decrees, and confirming the *Nicene* creed, they proceeded to consider the canonical books of SS, and the authority of tradition, wherein the latter, after a very faint opposition, *was put upon an equal footing with the revealed will of God*¹. The bishop of *Clogge* (*Clodiensis*) venturing, to the astonishment and horror of the rest, to call this *an impious decree*, was severely treated by the council, and looked upon with an evil eye, as wavering in his religion²: and we are further informed, that when the canon passed, his assent was not expressed, by the usual term *placet*, but, *obediam*³. The bishops of *Fiesole* and *Asturia* being somewhat offended at this jargon about traditions, and whether the word apostolical should be inserted or no, complained, that they had met to treat conjointly of faith and discipline, but, that now, one was only attended to; not without a fling of incon-

1 *Pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia. Conc. Trid. Sess. 4. Decretum de Canonicis. SS.*

2 *Pallav. lib. 6. c. 14. n. 4. & lib. 7. c. 4. n. 13.*

3 *Id. lib. 6. c. 11. n. 9.*

stancy,

stancy, and wasting time in doing nothing. This language was so highly offensive, says *Pallavicini*, to the modest and silent cardinal *Pole*, that, waxing angry, he could not refrain from charging these impertinent prelates with not knowing what they were about; that *Luther's* disturbances began by calling in question as well lawful authority, as the version of S S: that the whole of the controversy turned upon these two points, S S and tradition; and when they were once settled, half the business of the council was done¹. This was reasoning exactly like himself: and we are not surprised to find such an historian declaring, that the culprit bishops were quite confounded.

When this was established, it was but a natural step to declare what S S should be allowed. The *Vulgate* was at once approved of, that grammarians should not teach bishops and divines. The zealous *Pacheco*, in gratitude for his late exaltation to the purple, proposed, that all translations into modern languages should be prohibited² (p. 356), especially those made by heretics, which he afterwards extended to the LXX's version³. *Madrucci* indeed opposed this, for fear of inflaming the *Germans*, as Mr. P. owns: but he omits the cardinal's pious wish, that would to God the professors of *Greek* and *Hebrew*

¹ *Id. ibid.* n. 10.

² *Id. ibid.* c. 12. n. 5.

³ *Id. ibid.* c. 15. n. 1.

had never made their appearance in *Germany*, for then the church would not have been so much disturbed as it is ¹. The matter, however, was dropped; and *Pacheco* received a reprimand, for trespassing upon the legates privileges, and proposing a question ².

But however *Madrucci* might think it proper to restrain the indiscreet zeal of his brother cardinal, yet he did but speak the language of his church; and it was not without great reason, that cardinal *Ximenes* said, that the having the S S. in the vulgar language would spoil their religion ³. Thus too the translators of the *Rhemish* testament confess, that they do not publish their translation “upon erroneous opinion of necessity, that
“the S S. should be always in our mother
“tongue, or that they ought, or were ordained of God, to be read indifferently of
“all But upon special consideration
“of our country, unto which, divers things
“are either necessary, or profitable, and medicinal now, that otherwise in the peace
“of the church were neither much requisite,
“nor perchance wholly tolerable⁴.” And to this purpose, Mr. P. hath added the weight of his own testimony, by such an awkward apology for *Pacheco's* proposition, which, if

¹ *Id. ibid.* c. 12. n. 5.

² *Id. ibid.* c. 15. n. 3.

³ *Geddes's* methods of the *Roman* church to keep her people in ignorance, p. 5. In the 3^d vol. of his tracts.

⁴ Preface, p. 2.

accepted, will make *ignorance the mother of devotion* (p. 356, 357).

To all these great names, we will only oppose the authority of a modern author, (well known to Mr. P. himself) *in a discourse on the study of sacred literature*; who assures us, “that divinity is not that abstruse and inaccessible thing the laity are apt to imagine it, but a science full of light and satisfaction, adapted even to moderate capacities, attainable by moderate application, and suitable in some degree to men of all professions, who have had a liberal education, have leisure to read, and a disposition to reflect. St. *Austin* and St. *Hierom* explained the most difficult parts of S S. to courtiers, officers of the army, and governors of provinces; and the latter doctor performed the same offices to *Roman* ladies of the first quality, not thinking the employment unbecoming himself or them.”—The same author goes on, and advises (though with some restrictions) “his fair countrywomen, that some of that time, which they seem so much at a loss to fill up, should be given to an humble and attentive reading of the S S:” which he afterwards calls “the soul of all ecclesiastical learning;” and tells us elsewhere in the

1 The study of sacred literature, in a discourse to a student in divinity, at a foreign university, by T. P. S. C. T. p. 167, 168. Second edition.

2 *Idem.* p. 198.

same book, that “ we should converse with
 “ them often, we should pierce into their
 “ soul and spirit, we should contemplate
 “ them on all sides, in all their parts and in
 “ the whole, and accustom ourselves to judge
 “ and decide of matters by their light, as we
 “ do of outward objects by the sun-beams ‘.”
 Thus much that author, whom some reports
 to be no less a man than Mr. *P.* himself.

After *this short digression*, as our author calls
 it, (p. XXIII. Table of contents), we are sum-
 moned to attend the council. But as we do
 not propose to discuss every transaction of this
 assembly, there is nothing material to stop us
 till the article of justification comes to be
 considered; which, as being the corner stone
 of the difference between the two religions,
the fatal stumbling-block to Germany (p. 366),
 was entered upon, for very particular reasons,
 with great spirit. For we learn, not from
 Mr. *P.* (for obvious reasons) but from *Pal-*
lavicini, that when the legates were in-
 formed of the league between the Pope and
 the Emperor, against the protestants, “ tho’
 “ they considered the uncertainty of war,
 “ yet as there were no hopes in time of
 “ peace of reconciling *Germany*, which would
 “ die of a fever if the sword was not drawn;
 “ they comforted themselves, that the coun-
 “ cil would now be confirmed by strength
 “ of arms, and do their business with vi-

“gour and resolution, when their court
 “should have a powerful army for its appa-
 “ritors, and *Charles V.* himself would be
 “the executioner of its decrees¹.”

As this holy assembly was now certain of being well supported, one would have imagined they would have proceeded as briskly in the debate concerning justification, as they began; but so it was, that with all their wisdom, and all their power, it was several months², before the decree was passed and agreed to. Our *English* cardinal had left *Trent* before this doctrine was canvassed: but as he was not at any great distance, the legates consulted him upon the occasion; who waved giving his opinion, as his indisposition rendered him unable to think or write upon a

¹ *Pallav. lib. 8. c. 1. n. 3.* at the conclusion. The principal articles of the treaty were:

(1) That the Emperor should compel the heretics to return to the true and old religion, and to the intire obedience to the holy apostolical see.

(2) That the Pope should advance 100,000 crowns, which with the same sum before contributed, should be expended in the war.

(3) That he should maintain at his own expence for six months 12,000 foot and 500 horse.

(4) That he should give the Emperor one half year's revenues of the church benefices all over *Spain*, and permit him to sell as much of the abbey lands as would amount to 500,000 ducats — but upon security of repayment.

See also *Sleidan*, b. 17. p. 381, 382. who in the further progress of his history relates the actions of this religious war.

² From the beginning of *June* 1546 to the middle of *January* 1547.

subject of such importance, though he would soon communicate his opinion *viva voce*: which he did a few days after by doctor *Moriglia*. Now though it doth not appear of what profession this doctor was; yet Mr. P. tells us, he was a *doctor of divinity*, with whom Pole was particularly acquainted, (p. 367); that is, one of his domestics, as the cardinal himself calls him². From these slight documents, and because the decree, as it now stands, was found among the cardinal's papers and was written at full length, in his own hand (p. 369); our biographer collects, that it furnishes a strong presumption that the fathers of the council judged the alterations he proposed, the most proper to define, confirm, and explain the truths contained in it (p. 369): and then triumphantly concludeth, that without all doubt it was so. Nor can any instance, says this fulsome flatterer, do more honour to his memory, than that the whole catholic church should consider him as a particular instrument of the divine spirit, in declaring a doctrine so much contradicted by the innovators, and on which so venerable a body as the council of Trent should defer to his opinion with such a signification of their esteem (p. 369). Quirini, who had these letters before him, and considered the particulars, and is as eager to offer up incense to the memory

¹ *Poli ep. Quir. v. 4. p. 199, 200.*

² *Mando il dottor Moriglia mio familiare. Id. ibid.*

of *Pole* as Mr. *P.* insinuates no such thing; neither doth it appear, that the cardinal communicated his sentiments in writing, only that he commissioned *Moriglia* to relate his opinion of the decree: but a compliment paid to his hero, is never lost by our writer. I cannot here but inform the reader, that *that venerable body the council of Trent*, who esteemed *Pole* so highly, and passed this important decree, consisted only of 4 cardinals, 10 archbishops, and 45 bishops¹, who were, as our writer styles them — *the whole catholic church*.

We have been before told, that *the precision, order, and perspicuity, with which this decree is delivered, have been the admiration of all, who have read it with attention* (p. 368). If it was so wonderfully clear, how came it to be so fiercely contested throughout? How came two of the venerable fathers to fight about it²? How came there to be such heats and contentions between three of the cardinals³? How came *Soto*, *Catharinus*, and *Vega*⁴, to dispute so much about it during the debate, and when it was determined, still to misunderstand its meaning, to enter into a controversy upon it, and

¹ *Pallav. lib. 8. c. 18. n. 10. Dupin. eccles. hist. 16 cent. 2^d p^t b. 3. p. 47.*

² The bishops of *Cavia*, and *Chiozza*. *Pallav. lib. 8. c. 6. n. 1.*

³ The cardinals *del Monte*, *Madrucci*, and *Pacheco*. *Id. ibid. c. 7. n. 9—12.*

⁴ *Ib. c. 12. n. 15.*

in vindication of their respective contrary notions, to appeal to this *inspired council* about the meaning of this their own decree, which the fathers with all their *supernatural assistance*, neither did nor could decide? If the *precision*, and *perspicuity* of this decree be so apparent, whence could arise that continued dispute amongst their own writers, what was the intention of the council in asserting that good works of justified persons do *merit* eternal life, and in denouncing an *anathema* against those who deny it? or whether this *merit* was *merit* of *congruity* or *condignity*? The council might surely have expressed themselves in clearer terms, and given satisfaction: but the rule they went by, in this and all their decrees, was, to give up nothing, but to establish every thing that was called in question; and rather by scholastic subtleties to leave it disputable, than to seem to approach to any accommodations with their adversaries. — If now, it is any honour to *Pole* to have been concerned in the framing this decree — let him have it.

After passing this decree, and some rules concerning discipline and reformation, the council proceeded to consider *the doctrine of the sacraments in general* (p. 371), wherein, instead of explaining them, the fathers con-

1 *Conc. Trid. sess. 6. c. 16. & canon. 32.*

2 See sufficient proof of this in *Stillingfleet's Council of Trent* examined and disproved by catholic tradition. Art. 4, of the merit of good works, p. 59.

tented themselves with denouncing *anathemas* against those who did not hold them in the sense of the church, and the deniers of the *septenary* number of them. A figment this never heard of till towards the latter end of the 12th century: and the earliest and highest authority that *Bellarmino* is able to produce, is that of *Peter Lombard*, the master of the sentences¹, (for the authority of S.S. is out of the question) which that cardinal further supports by most cogent, and undeniable arguments drawn from *congruities*, such as, the resemblance of the spiritual and natural life in *seven* particulars, the *seven* deadly sins, the *seven* virtues, the frequent mention of the number *seven* in the *Jewish* laws of atonement; and he concludes, that the S.S. seem to declare, that there would be a time when God would provide *seven* eminent and efficacious remedies for the expiation of sins². When the cardinal was upon the proofs of congruities, he might have added the *seven* wise men, the *seven* wonders of the world, and the *seven* sleepers³, &c; and they would have done full as well. Upon such weighty

¹ *Bellarmini cont. v. 3. de sacram. lib. 2. c. 25. p. 238.*

² *Id. ibid. (c. 26. p. 240.*

³ To perpetuate the memorial of these seven sleeping saints, there was a service in the old *Romish* ritual upon the 27th of *July*. See the collect and lessons for that festival, extracted from the *Salisbury* breviary and missal, in reflections on the devotions of the *Roman* church, p. 98 *et seq.*

considerations was this made an article of faith, and fortified by strong *anathemas*.

When this decree was passed, the Pope, not being thoroughly satisfied either with the legates or the council, and as little pleased with the Emperor's conduct, removed the council from *Trent*, (the apprehension of an epidemical distemper serving for the pretence) to *Bologna*; but not without great opposition from *Pacheco*, and the imperial party, who could not be prevailed upon to leave *Trent*. But as the Pope had for some time harboured strong resentments against the Emperor, he was resolved the removal should take place. And the breach was widened by the *misunderstanding* which *broke out between* them *on account of the dutchies of Parma and Placentia* (372), now vacant by the murder of that infamous and abominable wretch, *Peter Lewis Farnese*, his holiness's favourite son; and as he was not without suspicion, that the Emperor was privy to, or connived at the assassination¹. He determined therefore to court the alliance, and enter into a league with the King of *France*; and therefore the Emperor's protest against the removal of the council, both at *Bologna* and *Rome*, was disregarded; and the reply made to them was expressed in such high and offensive language², that the Emperor deter-

¹ *Sleidan*, b. 19. p. 438, 439. *Thuan.* lib. 4. A. D. 1547.

² *Sleidan*, b. 20. p. 450---453. *Thuanus*, lib. 5. A. D. 1548.

mined to turn reformer, and settle religion himself; and published that *formulary of faith and discipline* called *the Interim* (p. 377), which equally offended the friends of the reformation and the *Romish* faith¹.

The schism in the council still continuing, the prelates of the papal faction, *who were all Italians* (p. 378), doing nothing at *Bologna*; and those who remained at *Trent*, refusing to obey any orders the Pope sent them²: his holiness found himself obliged to suspend the council to the great mortification of *Pole*, who could not help bemoaning the fate of religion and the church (p. 379). Though his tears were soon dried up: for in the midst of these disputes the Pope died, whose end was hastened by the undutiful behaviour of one of his sons. Such was the end of that active Pontif *Paul III*, the friend and patron of cardinal *Pole*. A man he was, undoubtedly of great abilities: but the general cha-

1548. who after saying that the reply to *Mendoza's* protest at *Rome*, was, as he learned from *Beccacelli*, drawn up by *Pole*, adds out of compassion to the cardinal "*Deploranda sane tanti viri conditione, cui necesse fuerit, ut sectarii mali suspicionem, cujus falso insimulabatur, purgaret, pontifici in ea causa, in qua minime illum versari sciret, industriam suam elocaret.*" A reflection this not greatly to the honour of the *English* cardinal, but formed from his true character.

1 *Thuan. ibid. Sleidan, b. 20. p. 457, & seq. Mosheim, v. 2. p. 62, 63. and the note. Dupin, 16 cent. v. 2. b. 3. c. 5. throughout. p. 83, &c. Pallav. lib. 10. c. 17. n. 7. & lib. II. c. 1. n. 4.*

2 *Dupin. ibid. p. 90. Pallav. lib. 10. c. 15. n. 3, 4.*

rafter which historians of credit give him, is, that he was remarkable for cunning and dissimulation; ever intent upon projects of power and ambition; and so immoderately bent upon raising the fortunes of his illegitimate offspring¹, as reflected farther disgrace upon the author of their birth; which occasioned his enemies to expose his enormous lewdnesses, in one of the severest satires, that was ever levelled against a public character². *Quirini*, however, of late years, has entered warmly into his defence; has exhibited him as the model of an all-accomplished Pope³; and, in his controversy with *Keisling*, *Schelborn*, and others, “has used his utmost efforts to defend the probity and merit of this Pontif; while the two learned men above mentioned represent him as a perfidious politician, whose predominant qualities were dissimulation and fraud⁴.”

After much struggling in the conclave, cardinal *del Monte* succeeded to the papal chair, by the name of *Julius III*; who had the blessed opportunity, immediately after his coronation (p. 382), of exhibiting his pontifical authority in full splendour; for the ju-

1 *Pallav. lib. II. c. 6. n. 4. Thuan. lib. 4. A. D. 1547.*

2 *Sleidan, b. 21. p. 487. Thuan. lib. 6. A. D. 1549.*

3 *Quirini, Imago optimi Pontificis expressa in gestis Pauli III. Brixii, 1745, 4to.* But says *Walch* (hist. of the Popes, p. 256. Note) in this picture the artist too often flatters his original.

4 *Mosheim, v. 2. p. 97. Note. See Keislingii epistola de gestis Pauli III. — Schelborn aman. hist. eccles. & lit.*

bilee was opened with the usual solemnity (p. 382); that pompous farce, that insult to devotion, invented by the detestable *Boniface VIII*: an institution very consistent with the character of that Pope, and very favourable to the progress of licentiousness and corruption. He ordered it to be held every hundredth year: but some of his successors, thinking this too long a period of time for the members of their church to go without a plenary indulgence, appointed a more frequent celebration of this salutary and profitable institution¹. For it is beyond the power of man, say some of their grave cardinals, to tell what an infinite number of indulgences is given by the Popes on these occasions²; and happy is he who can get any of the materials which were touched and sanctified by the Pope's hammer. And *the holy doors of these churches* (p. 382) stand open during the continuance of these solemnities, with a view, no doubt, to let all the catholics into heaven; which ceremony was the addition of his holiness *Alexander VI*.

The new Pope, sometime after his election, summoned the long suspended council to meet again at *Trent*; where, after the *French* ambassador's protest against it, the fathers entered upon the subject of the eucharist.

¹ *Mosheim*, v. 1. p. 693, & 694. Notes.

² Cardinal *Rasponi*, lib. 2. c. 14. & lib. 4. c. 19. cited in *Brevint's Saul and Samuel* at *Endor*, p. 253. *Bellarmin.* Cont. v. 3. *De indulgentiis*, lib. 1. c. 1. p. 1491.

Our author, who is well skilled in glossing over the monstrous absurdities of his religious tenets, that they may not be too offensive to protestant readers, has told us, *that in the chapter on transubstantiation, the fathers are silent as to the manner, by which the body of our Lord becomes present in the eucharist* (p. 384): when, as expressly as words could do, they have defined it to be, “ by a *conversion* “ of the whole substance of bread and wine, “ which, they say, is aptly and properly “ called *transubstantiation*’.” And therefore this sacrament is intitled to the highest act of divine worship. But to give the finishing stroke, and to display absurdity and superstition in its highest extravagance, *the council expressly approved of the annual solemnity, by which its institution was commemorated* (p. 383). A festival that owed its original to the pretended visions and revelations, which a fanatical enthusiastical woman was supposed to have received in the 13th century; and was now corroborated by that bulwark of all their decrees, the tremendous threatening of damnation to all deniers of them.

The sacraments of penitence, and extreme unction (p. 384), were then established, after much scholastic disputation: the one of which was intended chiefly to support the sacerdo-

¹ *Conc. Trid. sess. 13. c. 4.*

² *Mosheim, v. I. p. 693.*

tal power and influence, by the benefit of auricular confession; the other, to excite false hopes of salvation, in expiring persons, from the external application of an insignificant ceremony. The ambassadors of the *German* protestants were some of them arrived: but such a *protest*, with respect to their reception, *was registered in the name of all the fathers* (p. 385), as was intended plainly to signify, they should not be regarded. The violent, impetuous legate, cardinal *Crescentio*, “ had before laid every impediment in his
 “ power to obstruct their coming to *Trent*,
 “ and to prevent the council’s making any re-
 “ formation, he and his tools would rather suf-
 “ fer their throats to be cut, than part with
 “ an inch of their pretensions.” This character of the legate and the council, we have from the letters of *Vargas*, and other ministers of *Charles V*, who were present at it¹; and saw, and detested the paltry, servile behaviour of the majority of the fathers, whose aim was not to consult the peace and reformation of the church, but how they might best advance the pretensions of the papal power. For this purpose, the controverted doctrines were not debated upon the footing of a free inquiry; but so proposed, that by a mercenary

¹ They were published in 1697 by Dr. *Geddes*, and are incontestible evidences of the chicanery of the Pope, the shameless violence of the legate, the base servility of the council, and their disingenuous behaviour with regard to the safe conduct to be granted to the protestants.

majority,

majority, their sense of them should be fortified by formidable denuntiations against all opposers, and all their pristine corruptions rendered the indisputable test of catholic orthodoxy.

Fortunately however for the dependants upon the Pope, rumours of wars arising, the fathers saved themselves the trouble of entering into any dispute with the protestant deputies; for many of the bishops fled from *Trent* upon the first alarm: and “now affairs being in a desperate state, the fathers that remained met, and by reason of the dissentions and quarrels of Kings and Princes, prorogued it for two years, and longer if peace was not made’.”

But where was our *English* cardinal all the while that these important articles were transacting? could he be absent from this council, who had ever been so desirous of seeing one; who had wrote so excellently upon its nature, necessity, and importance; and who had expressed his concern in such moving terms, at the breaking up of the two former meetings? Yet so it was, that neither his zeal nor his piety could send him to aid this council with his advice, or honour it with his presence. Whether it was, that not having the honour of being the Pope's

Sleidan, b. 23. p. 548. Who also has exposed the paltry behaviour of the council, in this whole book; which he was well qualified to do, having been present at it himself, as one of the protestant deputies.

legate,

legate, he was so piqued he would not attend; or whether he was endeavouring to get over the vexation of having the popedom slip through his hands: but whatever the cause was, he does not appear to have helped it forward any one way, either by taking notice of it in his letters, or by being consulted at all upon the occasion. So that this *most conspicuous personage of that epoch* (pref. p. XIII), is, for some time, intirely forgotten. To fill up, however, the vacant interstices, as his *cardinal's* actions afforded no materials, our author hath diverted his reader, with the above account of the affairs at *Trent*; and not being disposed to return to his hero in haste, hath presented us, by way of interlude between the last and the next council of *Trent*, with a short account of the famous *Poisi* conference; and with his usual good faith, and strict regard to truth.

Mr. P. declareth in his preface against running *into digressions on times and persons* (p. v), with which *Pole* had *little or no relation* (p. v), as *his intention, is to put down only what his subject leads him to; not every thing he could draw from it* (*Ib.* p. vi). We can therefore only account for this violation of his intentions, in relating this conference, which did not happen till upwards of three years after *Pole's* decease, but from the infamous pleasure which our author takes in aspersing, upon all occasions, the memory of the reformers, and in blackening their characters,

raeters, by a false and partial representation. Not to swell this article, we shall content ourselves with referring to *Thuanus*¹, and *Dupin*, for the occasion and history of this conference. To the former of these our writer hath himself appealed: and his testimony is, that *Beza*, in the heat of the dispute (p. 389), dropped indeed some expressions, which shocked the audience. But what was this offensive proposition against *Christ's* presence in the eucharist (p. 389)? He affirmed, that the *humanity* of *Christ* being taken into consideration, his body was as far distant from the eucharist, as heaven from earth. But should an adversary of good faith have passed over in silence the clear explanation he gave of this assertion, wherein he avowed he did not deny the presence of *Christ* as *God* in the eucharist; but that his body was not therefore converted into the bread, which, as a substance, was circumscribed by place and space in heaven; confirming his opinion by the express authority of *St. Austin*, and *Vigilius* bishop of *Trent*. The cardinal of *Lorrain's* baseness in charging *Beza*, in public, with being the author of that blasphemy . . . concerning this mystery, *Christus non magis in cœna, quam in cœno*, was very extraordinary. For the cardinal had before, in private, taxed him with it, and

¹ *Thuanus*, lib. 28, A. D. 1561. *Dupin*, 16 cent. v. 2. b. 3. p. 169---182. See also *vit. Beze inter Adami vit. Exter. Theol.* p. 211---221.

seemed

seemed satisfied with his solemn asseveration to the contrary. But our writer's malignity in fixing this wicked calumny upon *Beza*, is inexcusable, when *Thuanus*, whose account he had before him, says, that this expression fell from *Melanchton*, who, in his controversy with *Oecolampadius*, mentioned this as a consequence of his doctrine; and that the cardinal had, by mistake, charged it upon *Beza*.

Neither is this all. The jesuit *Laines* must be brought in for his share of the triumph over poor *Beza*; whose *discourse . . . was so satisfactory, that it procured the settlement of his order at Paris* (p. 390). But here our historian improves upon his authorities. For *Thuanus* expressly tells us, that *Laines's* speech gave great offence; that it consisted of rant and railing, instead of argument; that he fell foul upon the protestants in a gross and scandalous manner; and that he insolently reproved the Queen for meddling in matters which did not belong to her. And to shew how well read he was in divinity, he advanced a proposition concerning *Christ's presence in the eucharist*, infinitely more shocking and derogatory to the divinity of Christ, than *Beza's* offensive expression: for he compared it to the presence of a King at anniversary rejoicings, to perpetuate the remembrance of his own victories. *Beza*, with an air of conscious superiority, bid the wretch keep his reproaches to himself; and told him, that he spoke of the eucharist, as if it was a comedy,

comedy, in which Christ performed the principal part.

That *Laines's* speech procured the *settlement of his order at Paris*, is another of our author's usual inaccuracies. For the *Jesuits* licence to open a school in *France* bears date some days before *Laines* discoursed so satisfactorily: and it was with great difficulty, that the society got any establishment. For we are told, "the society met with so great
" opposition to its establishment no where as
" it did in *France*, nor had it so many tra-
" verses any where as it had there¹." And the licence granted to the society was clogged with many restrictions. If we may guess by immediate effects, *Beza* and his companions had their endeavours crowned with sufficient success. The conference of *Poisi* gave them more liberty to defend their opinions, and set up places of worship; it reconciled them to the favour and protection of the court; and in the next year the famous *January* edict was published for their toleration; "and the
" admiral *Chatillon* petitioned for churches
" in the name (as he said) of 2150 reformed
" congregations²." Such, says *Pallavicini*, was the mischievous consequence of this conference, that that doctrine, which before was hid in dens and caverns, was now avowedly professed³. And *Beza* himself met with

¹ *Dupin*, v. 2. p. 455.
Thuanus, lib. 29. A. D. 1562.
c. 14. n. 3.

² *Dupin*, p. 190.
³ *Pallav. lib.* 15.

great civilities from the court; was permitted to preach in the suburbs of *Paris*, and in the houses of the Queen of *Navarre*, and Prince of *Conde*. Though this calm did not last long, through the opposition of the clergy, and the house of the *Guises*.

We are now come to the last meeting of the council of *Trent*; which is introduced by our author in a very formal and pompous manner (p. 391), to strike the *English* reader by the relation of such solemnities, which are always used upon public occasions, and where any ceremonials are to be observed. In enumerating the legates, whom Mr. P. has so particularly characterised, he has omitted one ornament of the purple, by whom, *it must be acknowledged that the majesty of the first bishop of the christian church was never represented by an happier choice nor the interests of that church better understood, or supported with greater ability* (p. 392); and that was his holiness's nephew, cardinal *Altemps* bishop of *Constans*, whose abilities were so remarkably mean, “ that the Pope
 “ when he appointed him one of the legates,
 “ in the character he gave of him, excepted
 “ only his knowledge and experience, that
 “ is to say, the only qualities necessary for
 “ the commission he had intrusted him
 “ with.” Yet, as *Pallavicini* observes,

¹ *Courayer's* translation of father *Paul's* history, &c. v. 2. l. 5. p. 121. Notes.

these deficiencies might be supplied if he would but be directed by his colleagues¹. We are informed by one who knew him well, that he was so ignorant, that, before he was made a bishop, he could not say the Lord's prayer in *Latin*, which language he did not understand, and, moreover, that he could hardly write his name². Indeed, to give him his due, he soon found himself insufficient for such a station, and solicited his discharge; which the Pope consented to, having thoughts of employing him in a manner more suitable to his temper, by naming him his legate to the forces intended to be sent into *France*³, to suppress the growth of protestantism⁴.

There was also another of the legates, not much better qualified for that charge than *Altemps*; and that was *Navigero*. For *Pallavicini* says, that when the Pope, upon

¹ *Pallav. lib. 15, c. 13, n. 10.*

² *Jacobus Heerbrand*, one of the protestant Divines sent by the Duke of *Wirtemburgh*, to the last council of *Trent*: and who says of this legate, whose ignorance he is exposing — *Melius hunc novimus, quia Diocæsanus noster.* Cited in *Shelhorn's Amæn. hist. & litt. v. 1, p. 351, 352.*

³ *Pallav. lib. 16, c. 11, n. 10.*

⁴ *Shelhorn* has preserved some pleasant and entertaining anecdotes relating to this learned and ingenious cardinal, worth communicating.

The Emperor *Ferdinand* accosted him once in *Latin*, and said to him, *Memento te esse piscatorem hominum, &c.* *Altemps*, not understanding *Latin*, replied, Yes, most noble Emperor, there is very good fish in sea. Another time, as he was riding in *Rome*, along with some other cardinals, when some of them complained of the cold; *Altemps*, that he might bear his share in the conversation,

Altemps's leaving *Trent*, had determined to send two new legates, one of whom was *Navigero*, cardinal *Gonzaga* remonstrated against this designation, and said, that he was a very improper person, being neither a divine nor a civilian¹: but notwithstanding this reasonable objection, upon *Seripando's* death, his holiness appointed this very cardinal his successor (p. 405). These were the presidents of that council, which our writer hath presumed to compare with the apostolical and inspired one at *Jerusalem*, related in the acts of the apostles.

This being the last sessions, and when the greatest number of prelates were present, our historian judged he could not more effectually serve the cause of his church, or recommend the assessors of this tribunal (p. 426), than by calling the council an illustrious copy of the venerable original of that of *Jerusalem* (p. 421), and asserting, that a supernatural assistance was ASSURED to it (p. 423). To exemplify these arrogant claims, he has condescended to give the public a laboured, plausible detail of the decrees established in it, as if they had never been controverted; or, as if his fallacious

sation, and shew his skill in the *Latin* language, observed to them, *Est magnum frigum*; one of his attendants, who knew somewhat more than his master, whispered him in the ear *gus, gus*: the cardinal corrected his mistake by this emendation, *Est magnum friguncus*, from whence he got the enick-name of cardinal *Friguncus*. *Amæn. hist. & lit.*

v. 1, p. 356.

¹ *Pallav. lib. 18, c. 16, n. 1.*

representation would be admitted as the faithful expositor of them. His vanity indeed flattered him, that his account *would have, at least, the recommendation of novelty with the generality of his readers* (p. 420): yet, alas! smooth words, and fine colouring will no more deceive us now, than anathemas could formerly frighten our ancestors; for there is nothing, in all this florid narration, of weight enough to lessen our well-founded objections against the authority of this synod. We plainly perceive the same spirit of *infatuation* to reign in this, as much as in the former sessions; that the legates were as much the creatures of the Pope, as any of the former ones were; and that “the spirit which was wont to move the legates to think as the Pope did, and the bishops to believe as the legates, did work as formerly it had done.” We find the same caballing and intriguing, the same violent and unfair methods to secure a mercenary majority, and to insult opposers. Frequent were the complaints, during the debates in the council, that it was not free: and it clearly appears, that it was not so much the healing of religious divisions, or to bring the strayed sheep into the fold of the church, that the leading members of the council had at heart, as how best to drive them farther off; and how to advance the profit, and exalt

the power, of the court of *Rome*. The *French* ambassadors, in their dispatches, make grievous complaints of the partiality, prejudice, and obstinacy of the holy fathers: they tell their court, that the Pope was master of the council, and many of its members his pensioners¹; that their intention seemed to be, to increase the troubles of *Christendom*, and stop the progress of the proposed reformation². In another dispatch, they signify, that though there are many excellent persons in the council, yet there is no hope of any reconciling measures being adopted, the majority not being so well inclined: — that they were at that time treating of some doctrines in such terms, that it was evident, their design was effectually to shut the door against the protestants, and banish them the council³. The ambassador *Pibrac's* speech, so reproachfully represented by Mr. P. as *shocking* (p. 395) to the delicacy of the fathers, was a *discourse* which did himself and his nation credit; and would have done those reverend fathers honour, if they had attended to, and profited by it⁴.

¹ See *Actes du concile de Trente, en l' an 1562, & 1563, p. 59. 8vo, 1607. Lettre de Lansac au Roi, 19th Jul. 1562.*

² *Le meme livre. Lettre au Roi par messieurs du Ferrier & de Pibrac, le 25 Sept. 1563. p. 163, & 167.*

³ *Le meme. Lettre de Pibrac à la Reyne mere. 22 Aug. p. 63 & 66.*

⁴ *Le meme. p. 15---24. See also Dupin 16 cent. v. 2. b. 3. p. 218---223. Pallav. lib. 16, c. 11, n. 3---5.*

But the council was not only discomposed by this spirited and christian address of *Pibrac*, at its first setting out; but the affair of settling precedence gave the legates equal uneasiness; and the famous *Bartholomæus a Martyribus*, archbishop of *Braganza*, seems so far to have resented that his claim of preceding all the other archbishops was not determined according to his mind, that it occasioned him afterwards, when the reformation of the cardinals came under consideration, to propose, what Mr. P. calls, *a plan* (p. 394) for that purpose, using that sneering expression, recorded by *Quirini*, to signify his sense of the necessity of their reformation¹.

Mr. P. reviewing the decrees of the council, says that *the fathers have added nothing to the doctrine of antiquity, but placed in an advantageous light what the innovators endeavoured to obscure* (p. 423): and therefore congratulates his church, whose *unerring light*, he says, *is at once clear, unchanged, and universal; and has in every age been the source and test of every rightful tenet* (p. 422). As Mr. P. supposes, *the generality of his readers* to be ignorant of these transactions, and that they are *novelties* (p. 420) to them, it is no wonder he should buoy himself up with the hopes, that confidence would pass with

¹ *Cum in consilio consuleretur, an cardinales reformatione egerent, apostolica libertate respondit, illustrissimi, & reverendissimi cardinales egerent illustrissima, & reverendissima reformatione.* *Quirini*, v. 1. p. LXXIX, LXXX.

them,

them, both for truth and proof; for it may well be doubted whether any one could say this, and be serious. We can scarce think, *the fathers* themselves thought so highly of their own decrees, or they would never have given such strange reasons, for enacting some of them, as they have done. Thus, in the first sessions of any importance, they establish communion in one kind only, and yet own that communion in both kinds was instituted by Christ himself¹, and was not an uncommon practice in the earliest ages of the church². So, likewise, in the doctrine of the mass, when they assert that it is a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead, they do not pretend to found it upon S S, but *tradition*³: and, amongst other reasons of equal weight, for the mixing of *water with the wine in the chalice* (p. 399), is this convincing reason urged, because it is believed Christ did so⁴. And the reason, for retaining the *ancient practice as to the language in which mass is performed* (p. 399), is, that though the mass contains great edification for the faithful, yet it is *not expedient* it should be performed in the *vulgar*

1 --- *Etsi Christus Dominus in ultima cæna venerabile hoc sacramentum in panis & vini speciebus instituit, & apostolis tradidit. Conc. Trid. sess. 21, cap. 1.*

2 *Licet ab initio christianæ religionis, non infrequens utriusque speciei usus fuisset. Id. ibid. cap. 2.*

3 *Pro defunctis in Christo nondum ad plenum purgatis . . . juxta apostolorum traditionem. Id. sess. 22, cap. 2.*

4 *Quod Christum Dominum ita fecisse credatur. Id. ibid. cap. 7.*

tongue. The fathers certainly wanted a little of Mr. P's subtlety, or they would have used some more artificial refinements in composing their decrees. Our author, however, is so well satisfied with their reasons, that he avers, that *every article of these chapters . . . is enounced with a dignity becoming this august mystery, and in a manner the most suitable to inspire those with respect and devotion who are disposed to such impressions* (p. 399): to promote which, and to astonish his protestant countrymen, he entertains *his readers*, with the relation of the *solemnities* of this ceremony on *Easter eve*, as it was performed by one of the most magnificent and ambitious prelates *that ever filled the pontifical throne*; who, whatever care he might take to increase *inward sanctity*, yet, knowing how much easier it is to worship with the eye than the heart, *made use of what had a pleasing effect on the senses* (p. 399); and introduced into the religious offices of the church, an enormous multitude of pompous shewy ceremonies, which were only calculated to attract the stupid admiration of a gazing populace.

These gaudy spectacles, that by thus captivating the senses, place religion in outward shew, and superstitious rites, are absolutely destructive of the life and power of true devotion. And our author has given a striking proof of the effects of bigotted prejudice, to represent with such pleasure the
cumber-

cumberfome and theatrical ceremonies in the Easter-eve's fervice of *St. Leo the great* (p. 400); and to presume, that fuch a fwelling account of the laborious pomp of an outward worfhip could give any advantageous idea either of the faint, or the church in his days. If the reader be inclined to have any further inftances produced of the foppery and pomp of the *Romifh* ritual, as he *may never have had an opportunity of feeing thefe acts of religion performed with folemnity* (p. 389) we believe, he *will not be difpleafed* to have recommended to his ferious perufal, Doctor *Geddes's* description of a folemn pontifical mafs¹; and Mr. *Whitfield's* account of fome *Lent* proceffions, and ecclefiaftical entertainments at *Lifbon*²; who, after describing the offensive exhibition of a *Good Friday's* fervice at that place, makes this ferious and fenfible remark upon the *ufe of what* may have perhaps *a pleafing effect on the fenses* (p. 399) of boys and girls, but muft excite the compaffion of every well-inftucted christian. “How mean” (fays he) “is that eloquence, “and how entirely deftitute of the demon- “ftration of the fpirit, and of a divine “power, muft that oratory neceffarily be, “that ftands in need of fuch a train of fuper- “ftitious pageantry to render it impreffive³.”

¹ Laft volume of his tracts, p. 205.

² Published in 1755, in fome letters to an *Englifh* friend.

³ Letter the 4th, p. 28.

And every well-grounded protestant, who considers the spirituality of religion, will look with disdain upon that church, which in the celebration of its holiest offices, retaineth such idle and useless ceremonials, as from the nature and multiplicity of them, cannot but draw off the attention of the mind from the sacred mysteries it should contemplate, by disturbing and amusing it with such and so many external representations.

To return with Mr. *P.* to the council; who informs us of the cardinal of *Lorrain's* arrival at *Trent*, and of his *instructions*, and proposals for a reformation. But, to the shame of the court of *Rome* and the council be it spoken, no regard was shewn, either to these proposals, or to the *memorial* which the *French ambassadors* presented, in the name of their nation, to the legates (p. 403); for the present circumstances, truly, required a moderation with respect to several of those articles (p. 404); that is to say, the Pope was sensible he had got a sure majority, and therefore was not disposed either to yield any thing, or to oblige the King of *France* in his desire (for the peace of his kingdom) of *reforming abuses, which time had introduced* (p. 404). Indeed, whatever zeal that King might shew to restore the ancient discipline, the council, being — *Nervis alienis mobile lignum*, was determined to shew none: for notwithstanding these remonstrances, from a variety of difficulties, nothing was done for several months

months together, except quarrelling in a shameful manner, and avoiding every appearance of a reformation. The debates, particularly about episcopacy and the cup, were carried on with such indecent violencies, as will be a lasting blot upon the piety and prudence of the holy fathers themselves, and the order and regularity, which should have been observed by *inspired* persons. Father *Paul* is said to write as an *adversary*¹ (p. 424): but *Pallavicini's* history is as full of their squabbles as the other²; and is, upon the whole (though attempted with a different design) a strong confirmation of the other's credit³: and the Romanists can have little reason to object to the friar's account, when this packed assembly is sufficiently exposed by *his* representation, who speaks of it in the most advantageous light.

When the difficulties already mentioned (p. 405) were got over, the Council passed the *doctrinal decrees* concerning *holy orders*, and *the institution of episcopacy*. *Those classes which properly belong to holy orders*, are defined to be 7 in number, and undoubtedly for the same reasons of congruity as they had before decreed the septenary number of sacraments. They say indeed, that the SS. make express

¹ *Bossuet, hist. des Var. v. 2. p. 438.*

² *V. lib. 16, c. 4, n. 20. Lib. 16, c. 5, n. 5. Lib. 19, c. 5, n. 5. Lib. 23, c. 6, n. 6, &c. passim per tot.*

³ *Courayer's* preface to his translation of father *Paul*, p. vii.

mention,

mention only of the priesthood, and the deaconship; the other five therefore stand upon the stronger rock, Antiquity, and Councils'. But if *this supreme tribunal was assured of a supernatural assistance* (p. 423), why did the fathers draw up the articles concerning episcopacy, with such caution, as to avoid an explicit decision of the nature of the right, from which the jurisdiction of that order is derived (p. 406). If, as we are told elsewhere, that *the decisions of the Council are not less clear and precise, than absolute and peremptory* (p. 424); why did not the inspired members of it put an end at once to the controversy, whether episcopacy is immediately of divine right²; or whether *bishops as delegates of the holy see* (p. 358) have only a dependent jurisdiction and power comprised in (p. 406), and derived from the Pope? And however Mr. P. may presume to flight *Laines's* speech, yet *Pallavicini* tells us, that no one person in the Council got so much credit, as *Laines* by this speech upon episcopacy³; and another, which he made soon after, upon this and the subject of dispensations, was so much admired, that the legates sent a copy

¹ *Concil. Trid. sess. 23, cap. 2.*

² *Bossuet, hist. des variations, v. 2. p. 436*, to whom Mr P. is greatly obliged for the pompous and florid eulogium given of the Council and its decrees, at the end of this section. But, as usual, without reference or acknowledgment.

³ *Lib. 18, c. 15, n. 1.*

of it to *Rome*¹. Which was so far from being, as Mr. P. asserts, *refuted with great solidity by Verdun* (p. 406), that, as better historians assure us, *Verdun* never spoke at all. They tell us, that though he and *Hugonius* offered to reply to *Laines*, the cardinal of *Lorraine* would not permit either of them to do it².

Whilst the decree for the reformation of sovereigns (p. 408) was in agitation, *Du Ferrier*, one of the *French* ambassadors, did, as Mr. P. observes, *speak with great vehemence*³: but he could not well reply, to his answerer the bishop of *Monte Fiascono*, by a discourse of passion and resentment, for he was not present when the bishop made his speech⁴. Mr. P. deservedly censures *this projected reformation* (p. 408), which was set aside: and all that the Pope seems to have intended by it, was, that Princes being engaged in defending themselves, might have the less power or inclination to urge the reformation of the court of *Rome*; and that, if the world had heard of complaints against Popes, they might now hear of as many complaints against Princes⁵.

¹ *Lib.* 21, c. 6, n. 15.

² *Id. ib.* n. 16. *Paul*, b. 8, p. 722. *Dupin*, 16 cent. v. 2, b. 4, p. 317.

³ — *Aspero & aculeato atramento.* *Pallav.* lib. 23. c. 1, n. 4. See also *Actes de concile de Trente*, p. 138, & 144. *Dupin*, v. 2, b. 4, p. 345.

⁴ *Pallav.* lib. 23. c. 1. n. 10.

⁵ *Id.* lib. 22, c. 9, n. 1.

The decrees concerning marriage and reformation being passed; Mr. P, to convince the heretics of *slandering the church of Rome, presents his readers with the whole decree on Purgatory and invocation of saints* (p. 412, 413). And truly, if speaking peremptorily would do it, the doctrine is then sufficiently established: but, though it be *enounced* with the usual formal arrogance of the Council's being *instructed by the Holy Ghost, according to SS, and the doctrine of all antiquity* (p. 412); yet this will not set aside this unanswerable objection, that in this, as well as other decrees, the Council *TEACHES for doctrines the commandments of men.* Pallavicini says, that some objected to this *decree of Purgatory*, that it was a mean one, and unworthy the Council: but they were told, that in great buildings, something less perfect would always be found, and to avoid the great evils of delay, some omission of a lingering policy would be commended, if not excused'. After this, we do not wonder (as the Council itself did not explain what Purgatory is) to find *Bellarmino* so perplexed about it, that, for want of better proof, he was obliged to have recourse to *Jews, Mahometans, heathen*

I --- *Etiam si decretum de Purgatorio videretur quibusdam tenue, ac parum dignum consilio. Sed respondebatur, in cunctis ingentibus fabricis aliquid minus perfectum reperiri, & quo vitarentur gravia mala, ex mora impendentia, quamcunque prætermissionem alicujus lentæ solertiæ laudabilem, nedum excusabilem reddi. Lib. 24, c. 4, n. 10.*

poets,

poets, philosophers, and apparitions¹, to prove this article of his creed; which many writers of his own communion are honest enough to own the ancient Doctors were ignorant of. But it answered well the profits of the church; and was too gainful a trade, for the priests not to be sollicitous to retain it². As it was a doctrine so well supported by legends and fables, the prudence and policy of the Council cannot be too much admired, to make this article, evidently the spawn of superstition and credulity, and the nurse of covetousness, an article of faith; and to damn those who are so hardy to laugh at, or disbelieve it. It was at the same time no impolitic scheme, not to determine the number of masses necessary to release a soul out of Purgatory: for the more masses, the more money. So that cardinal *Richlieu* was not out when he told his chaplain, “that just so many masses would serve to fetch a soul out of Purgatory, as snow-balls would serve to heat an oven³.”

The decree concerning the invocations of saints, and the worship of images, is drawn up with the same art and finesse, that the

¹ *Bellarmin. Cont. v. 2. De Purgatorio, lib. 1, c. 11, p. 749, 750.*

² *Mirum in modum amant (monachi) ignem purgatorium, quod utilissimum sit illorum culinis.*

Eras. Hieron. Agathio. Ep. lib. 20, p. 757.

³ Cited in two discourses on Purgatory and prayers for the dead, supposed to be written by bishop *Burnet*, p. 8.

former one concerning Purgatory was: and it will be sufficient to remark, that however these doctrines may be glossed over, the practice of the church does not appear in so fair a light. “The terms,” says Mr. *Mac-laine*, “employed in these canons are artfully chosen so as to avoid the imputation of idolatry, in the philosophical sense of that word, for in the S.S. sense they cannot avoid it, as all use of images in religious worship is expressly forbidden in the sacred writings in many places. But this circumspection does not appear in the worship of the Roman Catholics, which is notoriously idolatrous in both the senses of that word;” So notorious, that it is amazing how those plain texts of S.S., that say unto us, “*Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve,*” and the like, could escape the pruning knife of the *Index Expurgatorius*, whilst this truth, *God alone is to be worshipped*, is expunged from the works of *Athanasius* and *Austin*², as contradicting the practice of their church, and her members.

The next decree, of any consequence, is that concerning *indulgences*, which having been the object of so much obloquy (p. 417), Mr. P. hopes to remove these unreasonable

¹ *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* v. 2. p. 108. Note.

² *Adorari solius Dei est, deleatur ex indice opp. Athanasii, item ex indice opp. S. Augustini.*

Sotomajor's index lib. prohib. & expurg. p. 52, & 56.

prejudices,

prejudices, by *transcribing* the whole of it. Here, if ever, it might be hoped, some shadow, at least, of amendment would have appeared: but the evil genius of popery was never more ascendant, than when the council so hastily passed an article of such importance. The same ambiguity of expression is as visible in this, as in some other decrees: the council owns, that *abuses had been introduced*, and it pretends to stop them; but in effect leaves a door still open to the same enormous corruptions. As the calling this doctrine in question had shaken the whole fabric of their religious system, we might have expected the fathers would have bestowed some time and pains in the consideration of it: but instead of that, as if the opposition to it was trifling, and below their notice, they neither vouchsafe to prove, nor explain it; but, as if councils were only called, to take the opposite side to what heretics taught¹, they positively assert the doctrine, and damn those who deny or blaspheme it. Thus, instead of correcting, a fresh sanction was rather given to these *glaring disorders*, (p. 324). For it was much too profitable a traffic to be set aside, only to please scrupulous consciences.

Their own writers confess, there is nothing in the word of God to authorize these indulgences: and the best men of that communion

¹ See the speech of *Osius* bishop of *Rieti* against allowing the cup. *Pallav. Lib. 18. c. 4. n. 17.*

must be ashamed of these pious frauds, whose only use is, to fill the coffers of the church, and dissipate those guilty fears, which religion and conscience would otherwise keep alive. Thus an easier road is found to heaven, than by the severities of a religious life; for by these grants, as one of their own poets has observed — *cælum est venale Deusque*¹. The indulgences of ancient days were only relaxations of canonical penance or discipline; for the primitive church knew nothing of a power over the fabled pains of purgatory, or of that blessed treasure, the satisfaction of the saints, whereof the Pope keeps the key, and can alone dispense it. And his holiness's champion Bellarmine, who "answers all the arguments "in the world, whether it be possible, or "not²," does as good as give up the argument of antiquity for indulgences, when he is forced to acknowledge, there are not many ancient writers who mention them³.

From the many subterfuges, to which the Romish advocates have had recourse, to palliate this very exceptionable part of their doctrine, we might have thought, they would have been ashamed to have continued it in the same wanton and unjustifiable manner as ever. But ignorance is still the mother of devotion. And though Mr. P. would persuade

¹ J. Bapt. Mantuan.

² Taylor's liberty of prophesying, Sect. 6. p. 120.

³ Bellarm. Cont. v. 3. de indulgentiis, Lib. 2. c. 17. p. 1616.

us, *that the doctrine of his church is the very reverse* (p. 418) of what is generally represented, with regard to this article, yet the sense of any church may be best seen by its practice; and this plenitude of the papal power is still occasionally exerted as much as ever. In the year 1729 a papal bull was issued out, and sent from *Brussels* into *Ireland*, to *Christopher Butler* titular archbishop of *Cashell*, to grant an *indulgence* of 10 years (I think) to those who should contribute money towards advancing the pretender to the crown of these kingdoms, and dethroning the late King George¹. Mr. *Wesley* also, in one of his journals, has inserted a remarkable *indulgence*, which he found stuck upon the door of the great church of *Mentz*, so lately as 1738². And the missionaries here in England, have power from the Pope to grant *plenary indulgences* to all new converts, to all the faithful (if contrite) at the point of death, and to all the faithful under their care, three times every year. The

¹ See the report of the *Irish* committee made Dec. 19. 1733.

² A full release for the poor souls in purgatory. His papal holiness Clement XII, hath this year 1738, on the seventh of *August*, most graciously privileged the cathedral church of *St. Christopher* in *Mentz*. So that every priest, as well secular as regular, who will read mass at an altar for the soul of a christian departed, on any holiday, or on any day within the octave thereof, or on two extraordinary days, to be appointed by the ordinary, of any week in the year, may each time deliver a soul out of the fire of purgatory. *Wesley's 3d Journal*, from *Aug.* 1738. to *Nov.* 1739. p. 6.

terms, upon which this *indulgence* is granted, are these easy ones, *viz.* that they excite in their hearts, the most perfect compunction possible, and after confession, before or after communion, say some prayers in the day with great devotion during the space of about a quarter of an hour, at the same or different times, for the exaltation of the catholic church; for the peace and concord of christian princes; for the extirpation of heresy; for the conversion of England'. Thus is this abuse of piety reformed: and thus, as Mr. P. says, do we *chuse to misrepresent* the doctrine of indulgences, (p. 418). — But let the reader judge whether he or we are mistaken in the *representation* given of it.

This was the last decree of any moment worth our writer's attention; the rest are passed over, as being of less importance. But there was one in a more particular manner very necessary to be established by those, who were corrupting the faith, and that was, the decree *which remits to the Pope's care the catalogue of prohibited works, &c.* (p. 418); that the faith, having now new doctrines and articles added to it, might have the appearance however of being supported by the testimony of the learned, whose works it was determined

1 This, and some other secret practices of the missionaries were discovered from the papers of, Mr P's friend, *Alban Butler*, which were sent by mistake to the bishop's palace at *Norwich*, in 1753. See also Dr. *Stebbing* against popery, p^t 2. p. 101.

should

should at all events speak the language not of the authors themselves, but of the Romish church; every passage being carefully expunged, corrected and amended, which tends to contradict the novelties of Pope *Pius's* creed, and his additional articles of faith. This the *Belgic* inquisitors make no scruple to avow¹: but they have his holiness's sanction for it; though it is so horrid and villainous a proceeding, that it must make the faith of all books, and all authors justly suspected. Such men must lay aside both conscience and honour. *Henry Boxhorn*, professor of divinity at *Louvain*, was employed in the *Index Expurgatorius* of the *Low-countries*, published by command of the duke of *Alva* under *Arius Montanus*; and says, that with his own hands, he struck out no fewer than 600 passages in ancient writers, which seemed to contradict the doctrines and claims of the church of *Rome*. The sense of this dishonesty lay so heavy upon his mind, that it proved the occasion of his turning protestant, and quitting that religion which could not defend itself without such manifest impostures². In the *Spanish Index Expurgatorius*, which is a

¹ *Censores Belg. de libro Bertrami*, p. 12. *In Catholicis veteribus aliis plurimos feramus errores, & extenuemus, excusemus, excogitato commento persæpe negemus, & commodum iis sensum affingamus dum opponuntur in disputationibus, &c.*

² *Henricus Boxhornius de Eucharistia*, Lib. 3. towards the beginning.

bulky volume, the expunged places and words from the works of *Erasmus* take up no less than 59 pages, and those from *Thuanus*, 12¹. Such havoc do these theological-barber-surgeons, (as Dr. *Fortin* calls the inquisitors) make². So true was that remark of *Palearius*, though it proved a fatal one to him, for it cost him his life, that the inquisition was a poniard drawn against learning³. — Such means are indeed proper for such a cause, where every art must be used, to prevent the spreading of too much knowledge. But if religion be to be supported by violent and wicked means, this is not to defend, but to defile and violate it⁴; and every honest man must abhor such detestable methods. — Let Mr. P. and the congregation of the Index⁵ vindicate, if they can, this breach of honour and good faith.

1 *Erasmus author damnatus*, p. 256 --- 315. *Thuanus*, p. 678 --- 690. *Sotomajor's Index*, &c. *Madrid*. 1667.

2 *Fortin's Erasmus*, v. 2. p. 283.

3 *Sica districta in literatos*. *Thuanus*, B. 39. A.D. 1566. towards the beginning.

4 *Defendenda enim est religio --- non scelere, sed fide --- Nam --- si malo religionem defendere velis, jam non defendetur illa, sed polluetur, atque violabitur*. *Lactantii Institut. de justitia*, L. 5. Sect. 19. Ed. Var. p. 520. the author lived in the fourth century.

5 The business of this congregation, is to examine MSS and books designed for publication, to correct erroneous books, to condemn heretical, and pernicious ones, and to grant the privilege of perusing them to certain persons. *Mosheim*, v. 2. p. 86. note.

From

From this sketch or review of the council of *Trent*, chiefly drawn from *Pallavicini*, Mr. *P*'s own historian, the reader may judge, how little it merits the high flown panegyric bestowed upon it by our zealous admirer of it: but these are only words of course, to amuse his countrymen by a pompous *detail of novelties*; (p. 420). But truly! this council must be compared to the apostolical one at *Jerusalem*, where St. *Peter* in person presided. We have compared them together; the *illustrious copy*, and the *venerable original*, (p. 421) have no resemblance: humility, faith, candour, and holiness, are the lovely signatures of the one; whilst pride, presumption, faction, and bigotry strongly characterize the other. St. *Peter* indeed, according to the scriptural account of the *Jerusalem meeting*, (p. 421) did not know his place and duty so well as his holier successors: for he neither called the council, nor presided at it, nor pronounced the sentence; neither did it run in his name, nor did he confirm it, nor was any appeal made to his authority. The believers did not send to *Peter* only, or in the first place, but to the apostles and elders: and St. *James* closed the debate, pronounced the decree, and enacted the law, which was agreed to by the apostles and elders and brethren¹, without any regard to *Peter's* vicarial authority; with-

¹ See *Acts* 15. v. 1. & seq. and *Barrow* on the Pope's supremacy, v. 1. p. 45. a book never yet answered.

out giving the least foundation for the insolent claims of his pretended successors.

The members of the *Jerusalem* council, were indeed guided by the spirit of God, but what pretensions had the synod of *Trent* to this awful direction? "Hirelings, effeminate, "beardless, titular bishops made up the "greatest part of this assembly; — where the "Holy Ghost had nothing to do, for all was "conducted by human and worldly policy, to "support the Pope's immoderate, scandalous authority." Had Lord *Bolingbroke*

¹ *Dudithius's* letter to the Emperor *Maximilian*, inserted at the end of father *Paul's* history of the council, p. 841, and 882. As *Dudithius* was the latin translator of *Beccatelli's* life of *Pole*, we will give the reader a short account of him. After having studied in the most famous universities, and travelled through almost all the countries of *Europe*, he was present at the council of *Trent*, as deputy of the clergy of *Hungary* and bishop of *Knin* in *Croatia*, where he distinguished himself much, and spoke against several abuses of the church of *Rome*. He was a great favorite of the Emperors *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*, and employed by them in many negotiations. He afterwards married, and resigned his bishoprick; and being protected by the Emperor, despised the papal excommunications which were levelled at his head. Tired at last of the fopperies and superstitions of the church of *Rome*, he embraced the protestant faith, having for some time been its secret friend, and kept up a correspondence with *Beza*. He is said to have inclined to *Socinianism*, but some of his friends deny it. He was well acquainted with several branches of philosophy and mathematics, with the sciences of physic, history, theology, and the civil law. He had something majestic in his figure, and in the air of his countenance. His life was regular and virtuous, his manners elegant and easy, and his benevolence warm and extensive. *Mesheim*, v. 2, p. 267. note; from whence
this

never offended more against religion, than, when he called this council *a solemn barter*, (p. 424) neither his religion, nor his piety, could have been called in question. And moreover, if the decrees of the council were *so clear and precise, so absolute and peremptory*, (p. 424) as the bishop of *Meaux*, and from him Mr. *P.* would represent them; why, amongst other congregations set apart for administering the spiritual affairs of the church, and upholding the catholic cause, was there one in particular, whose business it is *to explain the decisions of the council of Trent*? If the decrees had been as plain, as reasonable, as consonant to the doctrines of the gospel, as those of the *Jerusalem* council, there had been no occasion for a subsequent tribunal to direct, and regulate the orthodoxy of those, who ought to adopt no other plan of faith and morals, than the *SS.*, those *oracles* of the living God, the only binding obligation upon christians of all denominations.

Mr. *P.* concludes this long section, and his encomiums on the council of *Trent*, by a testimony above all exception, (p. 429) and appeals to Dr. *Courayer's* excellent preface to his translation of father *Paul's* history of it: but had Mr. *P.* consulted the preface itself, he would scarce have closed this subject with so unfortunate an appeal. He found two citations alledged by *Quirini*, as proof, that some this account is chiefly taken. See also *Dupin*, 16 Cent. v, 2. B. 3. p. 204. and *Thuanus*, L. 96. A. D. 1589.

regard

regard had been paid to the remonstrances of princes concerning the corrupted state of the church¹; and he produces them hoping they would stand him in as good stead as the cardinal; and that it would leave a lasting esteem of the council, if he confirmed his high character of it, by producing an evidence in its behalf, above all suspicion of partiality; and which, he knew, would be received with the respect due to great learning, candour and modesty. But if, instead of relying upon another's reference, he had inspected his voucher himself, he would have found, that this concession was only with respect to mere externals, to what regards *discipline*; and that the Dr. in some pages before had severely censured the council, for augmenting the evils complained of, when it should have redressed them, and had exemplified this charge in many important and interesting particulars². He would have found also, that the Dr. after making the exception concerning discipline, in the paragraph from whence the citations are taken³, immediately added, — that he could not pretend to judge so favorably of the decrees concerning *doctrines* — that he could not justify the fathers, for making

¹ *Quirini*, v. 3. p. 41. Præf. citing Dr. Courayer, and adding, *quem nulla ratione rejici posse ab heterodoxis censui*. The reference is made by the cardinal, as well as by Mr. P. without taking notice of the number of the page where the extracts occur.

² p. 18---21.

³ p. 21, 22.

so many uncertain opinions articles of faith — for driving out of their communion, and excommunicating whole nations for a difference of sentiments in those doctrines, which were of such little importance, that, till the council of *Florence*, every one was at liberty to believe or reject them — without the imputation of schism, apostacy and heresy¹. This, and more to this effect, is the testimony of this *very polite and judicious writer*, (p. 429.) as Mr. P. justly styles him. We leave it to his further consideration².

¹ p. 22, 23.

² It would have swelled this section to too great a length, to have considered Mr. P's account of this council more minutely. He tells us, *it was subscribed to by 255 fathers* (p. 419) : but of these, no less than 187 were *Italian* bishops, entirely at the Pope's command : See the lists at the end of the *canones & decreta concil. Trident.* where all their names are specify'd. Next to this GREAT number, which served to constitute it a GENERAL COUNCIL, the characters of the persons who composed it (p. 421) is another topic for our author to expatiate upon. That there were some *knowing and learned* men amongst them, we deny not : but they were few in comparison. We shall give our readers great pleasure, when we refer them to *Schelhorn's judicium Edmundi Campiani Soc. Jes. de concil. Trident. expensum*, inserted in *the amœnitates hist. & lit. v. i. p. 281. & seq.* where they may have a view of the merits of the fathers who composed this *illustrious copy* of the council of *Jerusalem*.

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON SECTION THE SEVENTH.

WE are now again returned to the subject of the history before us, and are brought to the concluding period of *Henry's* life, in which our biographer, adopting his hero's revengeful spirit, summons up all his rancour, and malignity; and relateth every idle tale, which he could pick up from *Pole* and *Sanders*: the former of whom, in his invective against the King, which he entitled his *Apology to the Emperor*, has recorded a story to *Henry's* prejudice, which (if true) must make him a monster replete with every vice. But as the fact escaped even *Sanders's* notice; and as no other writer whatever mentions such an instance of compleat worthlessness (p. 433), (and so flagrant a one could not be concealed) it merits no confutation; and is only a sad proof of the eagerness with which *Pole's* malice swallowed every fiction against *Henry*, and of the pleasure he took upon all occasions

occasions of propagating those slanders in a manner unbecoming his profession, and contrary to the charitable and forgiving spirit of the gospel.

The mixed character of *Henry VIII.* renders it impossible to speak of him, without blending great virtues and great vices together. He was a prince endued with good sense and strong natural abilities, but of such violent passions, that he did not always attend to justifiable means in the prosecution of his designs; the same vehemence of temper was observable in his friendships, and resentments; for he neither favoured nor ruined by halves.

Many of the writers of the *Romish* church take particular pains to exalt the earlier actions of his life, that they may lash him the more severely for his latter failings. The ungrateful and the bitter *Pole* does this whenever he has occasion to mention him; and by indulging his hatred and his fears of him, was ever alarming himself and his friends, that his life was continually in danger, and that *Henry* was never without having some of his agents employed in base attempts against it. We have before observed, that *Pole* harboured these fears of *Henry*, from the very commencement of their rupture, and even before the King could possibly have given him the least reason for such appre-

P. 147, 148.

hensions.

hensions. From that time his imagination was always fostering those jealous anxieties, which Mr. P. has worked up into real plots; and has related, in the course of this history, and with the utmost confidence, some circumstances, which *Pole's* mistrust, and his own ingenuity has improved into a real design of assassination.

Three attempts of this kind are particularly mentioned by our author. I shall say nothing of the first, concerning the man *who came to Liege in the evening* (whilst *Pole* was sculking there after the disappointment of his first embassy) *and left it, on the morrow, before break of day* (p. 202), but that it shews the cardinal's great and natural timidity. The second was of *three Italians* who, he says, *were hired by King Henry for that purpose* (p. 306). But as no other writer of *Pole's* life imputes this guilt to the King, the whole rests solely on Mr. P's evidence. The reader, by this time, well knows what degree of credit it deserves. The next is, of *three ruffians, who were seized on suspicion: and who, it is added, confessed who they were, and on what errand they had been sent* (p. 306). But let *Pole* himself relate the fact, as we find it stated in his dispatches to his friend cardinal *Cervini* at *Rome*, whom he acquainted with the whole story. He tells him, "three persons, one of

1 Viterbii tres Italos, necem sibi molientes, liberari jussit. (*Vita Poli*, p. 56,) is all that is said of this attempt.

" them

“ them a *Bolognese*, and two young *English-*
 “ men, who passed for *Flemings*, were stopped
 “ at *Viterbo* on suspicion of some sinister
 “ intentions. On examination, the *Bolognese*,
 “ who pretended to be a merchant, was dis-
 “ covered to be a life-guard man of the King
 “ of *England*, which he confessed, and said
 “ that he came from *England*, and was going
 “ to *Rome*, to place those two young men in
 “ the service of Mr. *Cassali*, who was there.
 “ The two young men owned they were
 “ *Englishmen*, yet still persisted that the other
 “ was a merchant. They appear innocent,”
 says *Pole*, “ and to have no bad designs.
 “ This variety in their story occasioned their
 “ being stopped ; and, as they will not own
 “ their knowing the *Bolognese* to be in the
 “ King of *England*’s service, they may possi-
 “ bly conceal somewhat else for some mis-
 “ chievous purpose.” He desires, therefore,
Cervini would “ inquire of *Cassali* as to the
 “ facts, and particularly of the meaning of
 “ an expression in a letter to him, found
 “ on the *Bolognese*, wherein he tells *Cassali*
 “ — he was coming to talk with him on an
 “ affair which he knows of (*che esso sa*).” It
 was this expression, which gave Mr. P. the
 handle to say so peremptorily, that the letter
 was penned in the true *Catiline* stile. *Cervini*’s
 answer to *Pole* was, “ that he had talked
 “ with *Cassali*, who knew no more of the
 “ *Italian*, than that he had been once in his
 “ brother’s service, and became afterwards
 “ of

“ of the King’s guard. With respect to the
 “ letter,” he adds, “ that his correspondents
 “ at *Bologna* had written him word, that he
 “ was in trust to discharge some debts of his
 “ brother, for which purpose he was coming
 “ to *Rome*: but that he had given him no
 “ commission to procure him any servants.
 “ The Pope (adds *Cervini*) recommends it to
 “ you, to keep him still in custody, till he
 “ confesses the whole truth.” To which
Pole replies, “ that he had sent a messenger
 “ on purpose to relate what had been done
 “ with regard to these suspected persons,
 “ with a copy of their examination and the
 “ process against them; and desires his in-
 “ structions, either to acquit or punish them,
 “ or question them farther, according to
 “ what he shall judge they deserve.” This
 is all the intelligence we can get from *Pole’s*
 letters concerning this affair. That there
 was any design to assassinate him, must be a
 mere conjecture of the writers of his life.

There is another trifling incident, which
 Mr. *P’s* fertile invention has magnified into
 another design of the same nature. He tells
 us, that one *Ludovico*, and an Italian count
Bonifacio were hired (by Henry) to be the
 ruffians to dispatch him, and to seize him on
 the road (p. 340) from *Rome* to *Trent*; where
 he was going, as a cypher, to open the second

I *Quirini*, v. 3. *Ep. Poli*, p. 99, & seq.

council to be assembled at that place. But the *documents* referred to by our author, from *Pole's* letters, (for what *Raynaldus* says, I know not) do by no means authorize him to be so positive in his assertions. All that we learn from them is, that one of the suspected *russians* had been at *Trent* for three days, just before *Pole's* colleagues arrived there, but that, now, one of them was at *Venice*, the other on his way to *Rome*; and that *Pole* came with his usual attendants to *Bologna*, but hearing that some of *Ludovico's* companions were in the neighbourhood, he took a guard of five and twenty horse, for his security, as far as *Mantua*. And afterwards, nothing more was heard of the assassins or their designs.

Upon these slight suspicions does Mr. P. venture to fix upon *Henry* the odious character of a dark assassin: an accusation, that does but ill accord with his general way of acting; which, though violent, and not always defensible, was yet always open and unreserved. *Pole*, however, who was haunted by his fears, by conversing only with *Italians*, and knowing their dark, revengeful spirit, conceived the like opinion of the King's disposition; and was willing to insinuate, at least, if he could not prove, such suspicions: how far the above-mentioned particulars could justify those suspicions, let the reader

1 *Quir. v. 4. Ep. Poli, p. 184, &c.* See also p. 218.

judge. To grant the utmost that can possibly be deduced from them : it appears, that though some hungry *Italians* might think to make their court to the King of *England* by threatening the exiled cardinal ; yet there is not the least shadow of a proof, of any actual attempt upon the life of *Pole*, or that the King was any ways accessory to such intentions, if any such there were¹.

Mr. *P*, who knoweth not what it is to blush, in his relation of *Henry's* expiring moments (which he takes upon the credit of the shameless *Sanders*) says, that *as no writer except cardinal Pole has said so much to this Prince's advantage as the above-mentioned, what he relates can be as little suspected of slander, as other particulars in his commendation, of flattery* (p. 435). If so, it is difficult to guess, what *slander*, or *commendation* is : for, throughout his book of the *English* schism, he labours to expose him for every action of his reign. In the entrance of it, the only *commendation* he bestows upon him, is, that he had a graceful and majestic appearance : for he even then begins his ca-

¹ As the documents concerning these supposed conspiracies against the life of *Pole* are in *Italian*, a language I am unacquainted with : I take this opportunity to acknowledge my obligations to my friend and neighbour, the Rev^d Mr. *Benjamin Pye* of *Chesterton*, for the constant assistance I have received throughout this work, from his skill in that language. And I hope he will favour the public with his comparative view of the merits of *Pole's* biographers.

lumnies,

lumnies, and relates, what others speak nothing of, *Henry's* debauched and dissolute behaviour; and contrasts his vices with *Catherine's* virtues. And, when summing up his character at the close of his life, all the good he says of him, is, that he was a patron of learning and learned men; and that in his last illness he shewed such a reverence for the eucharist, that he would receive it kneeling. But at the same time he does not allow him any one moral qualification; and expatiates upon his drunkenness, lust, and cruelty; and then he addeth these two delightful stories, of *Henry's* drinking a goblet of white wine, and saying all was lost, and muttering the word monks in his last moments (p. 435). Fables fit to be told by him, and adopted by those who pay no more regard to truth, than he did. It was a great pity, these lies had not been coined sooner, that the earlier slanderers of *Henry's* memory might have countenanced these pretty traditional reports, which now rest upon *Sanders's* evidence alone; an evidence of no credit at all, and so often convicted of falsehoods, that whatever he relates will of course be always suspected. — We mean not by this to be an advocate for *Henry*, or to disguise his failings: but it is the duty of every honest man, to confute slanders, and detect lies, invented, and continued, only to spread malicious calumnies, which have no apparent foundation, but the malevolence of inveterate hatred.

The little progress the reformation made in this King's reign, cannot place him amongst those Princes who supported it; for, excepting abolishing the Pope's supremacy¹, he lived and died in the persuasion of the *Romish* church: and if Pope *Clement VII.* had acted in his matrimonial cause, with any honour or prudence, even that would not have been invaded; for, though he restrained some of the lucrative exorbitances of the see of *Rome*, the vitals of its faith were not attacked by him; and in his executions on account of religion, he shewed greater favour to the Papists, than to their opponents, for he burned the latter, and only hanged the former. The way to the reformation in *England* was not opened by *Henry's* divorce, or passions, or any encouragement which he gave to the well-wishers to it, so much as by causes intirely independent thereof; such as, the progress of literature, the free inquiries which were made into the origin of government, the principles of civil society, and the doctrines of revealed religion unconnected with any systematical interpretation: all which naturally tended to discover the weakness of their ancient, superstitious opinions; and to place the religious and civil obedience of mankind upon its right basis, the duty which they owed to God, to

¹ *Princeps*, says the jesuit *Campian*, *avita religionis per omnem ætatem servantissimus, excepta causa pontificia.*

De divortio Hen. VIII. p. 148.

their sovereign, and their country. It was the investigation of these truths, which procured so many secret friends to the reformation in this kingdom in *Henry's* time; which so far established it in *Edward* the Sixth's reign, that all the fury of *Mary's* zeal only stifled it for a time, till it burst out with such accumulated strength and vigour in the long period of her sister's government; and acquired such a confirmed authority, as has hitherto preserved, and, we trust, will effectually prevent this nation from ever sinking again into the abyss of papal despotism, and lawless power.

As the influence of such principles could never be agreeable to the arbitrary violence of *Henry's* temper, it is no wonder that he retained his old religious sentiments. And though neither the friends of the old or new religion were satisfied with his conduct; and his memory, upon that account, has suffered greatly, from the one, for doing what he did; from the other, for not doing more: yet do we find that in general he was looked upon as one of the most considerable and respectable Princes of his time; and that with all his faults and failings he died, not only revered, but beloved and lamented by his subjects¹.

¹ *Carte*, v. 3. p. 196, citing *Strype's Memorials*, v. 2. p. 389. *Thuanus*, lib. 3, A. D. 1547. *Hume's Tudors*, v. 1. p. 279, and lord *Herbert*, p. 638; and the other historians of his reign. A fabulous writer of the *Romish*

Upon *Henry's* decease, *Pole*, not knowing how matters would turn out in *England*, began again to intermeddle in the affairs of this kingdom; and was proceeding in the same steps he had taken formerly, by soliciting the Pope and the Emperor to interfere, and by teizing the Privy Council and the young King with those impertinent addreses, to which his vanity and his weakness impelled him upon every occasion. As he had been for some years an attainted exile, and was one of the few excepted in the act of grace at *Edward's* accession, there was little prospect that any regard would be paid to his admonitions by those counsellors who were no strangers to his spiritual intrigues in the late reign; though, out of pure love and kindness, he assured them, if they listened not to him, "the whole realm would be brought

church is of opinion, that "*Luther's* soul was transmigrated into *Henry VIII.* who, ever after, never spake at a lesser rate, than *sic volo, sic jubeo*: who both of them, since their fall from the catholic church, pulled down reason and set up will." See *Bailey's* (or *Hall's*) life of bishop *Fisher*, c. 3, p. 34. But the honest man forgot to tell his readers, whose soul was *transmigrated* into *Henry* before *Luther's* death, for the King could not well have his soul before that time; and he did not live a full year after that reformer died. Had he known a little more of ecclesiastical history, he would have assigned that place to the soul of that famous *French* lawyer *Nogaret*, the most intrepid and inveterate enemy the Popes ever had before *Luther*, and the only man who quelled the haughty spirit of the insolent *Boniface VIII.*

Mosheim, v. I. p. 721—724.

" into

“ into imminent danger, and that the Pope,
 “ with his allies, could alone prevent the im-
 “ pending storm, and be of more service to
 “ them than all other Princes without him:
 “ that his holiness proposed therefore, in
 “ charity to their souls, to send him over
 “ with sufficient authority, not only to give
 “ them good advice, but also to remedy
 “ their evils.” But all would not do. *The members of the Privy Council refused to receive either the message, or him who brought it* (p. 439).

Mr. P. seems to know as little, almost, how things went on in *England* at this time, as his cardinal did. He tells us, *Edward had scarce filled the throne, when several acts against different tenets of the ancient belief were preparing to be brought into the house: and the Emperor, who had notice of it, signified his resentment to the English ambassador in very high terms. These acts were not passed so soon as was imagined* (p. 439): and that the cardinal seemed to impute this delay to that

I Qui unus (sc. summus Pontifex) vobis ad removenda omnia quæ impendent incommoda & pericula prodesse plus poterit, cum per se, tum propter fœdera principum, quos sibi adjunctos habet, quam reliqui omnes principes sine eo. Idem autem me ad vos, ea autoritate præditum, mittere cogitat, qua plurimum rebus vestris prodesse possum, non solum ut consilia vobis salutaria suggeram, sed ipsa quoque remedia afferam, modo ea a vobis eo animo recipiantur, quo offeruntur.

Quir. v. 4. Ep. Poli ad consiliarios reg. Angliæ, p. 44.

Prince's authority, and *his confessor Soto's influence* over him. Whereas the parliament did not meet till near 10 months after the King's accession, and *Pole's letter to Soto* is dated the beginning of *April*, when *Edward* had scarce filled the throne, having sat in it but little more than two months. But *Pole* and *Soto* seem to have had very little interest with the Emperor, who did not chuse to interfere in the administration of *English* affairs at all. Some time after, indeed, he requested that the princess *Mary* might be indulged in the liberty of her religion, which accordingly was connived at; till difficulties arising upon it, that permission was withdrawn; upon which the Emperor proceeded to threats; but "perceiving (says Sir *John Hayward*) "that his threats were little regarded, re-
"garded little to threaten any more."

Notwithstanding the cardinal's unsuccessful application to the Council, his restless genius, not satisfied with that repulse, urged him to try whether *Edward* himself might not countenance an immediate appeal to the throne. With this view he inscribed a treatise to him, which is a laboured, prolix vindication of his behaviour to his father, written indeed with much greater temper and moderation, but with the same fanatical spi-

¹ Life of *Edward VI*, p. 293. *Heylin*, p. 104. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 256.

rit, as the apology to the Emperor. Had this *remonstrance* been permitted to reach the Prince, to whom it is addressed (p. 441), so penetrating a youth as King *Edward* could not but have discerned and detested the falseness, prevarication and impiety with which it doth most eminently abound. For what can be more impious and abominable, than *Pole's* ascribing his whole conduct, in his writing and publishing his scurrilous letters, to the immediate direction, and irresistible impulse of God, as he hath in a multitude of places? than his profane, scandalous perversion of SS? than his calling God to witness (what must be false) his extreme love for *Henry*, and citing the word of God to sanctify his splenetic scurrility? Had he been the good man he pretends, and would represent himself to be, he would have been content to die an exile, rather than seek to be recalled, by such arts. How could he think to persuade or convince that virtuous young monarch, that he was all the while leading him to Christ, when he was instructing him to abhor the memory of his father, and with true enthusiastical cant denouncing God's judgments against him and his people, if he attended not to his exhortations? This, in few words, is the substance of this address to *Edward VI.* by which the reader will be enabled to judge whether or no it merits the singular commendations bestowed upon it by Mr. *P.* who is so liberal, upon every turn, in offer-
ing

ing up the grossest incense to the manes of his favourite character¹.

Edward's ministers were, it seems, so far from wanting this officious and impertinent director, that *the leading part of them were bent on subverting every measure the cardinal had recommended to the young King In a word, abolishing the ancient religion* (p. 442). To make *this appear*, in the representation which Mr. P. pleases to give of religious matters in this reign, he rummages about for matter of abuse; and collects, from *Heylin* and *Collier*, every simple action and unguarded expression related by them, which have the least tendency to defame the friends of the reformation; without attending to what is offered by those very writers in justification of them. Though we do not think the principles of the reformation in the least af-

¹ How this letter to *Edward VI*, after being preserved in private for so many years, came to be communicated to the world, Mr. P. learned from *Quirini*; as also the account inserted in his note, concerning the several editions of *Pole's* work on the church's unity, where he has again made the same blunder before taken notice of, p. 158, mentioning the *Strasburgh* edition of that work, as if it was printed with the *Notes of Vigerius*; whereas *Quirini*, in the place before him, said only, *cum Vergerii præfatione, v. 4, App. p. xxxiv.* *Sotomajor* says the same, and hath put this edition down in his black book: though he owns that work of *Pole's* to be catholic and good, *tamen* (adds that judge of orthodoxy) *illa prohibentur, quæ simul cum illa impressa sunt, videlicet quidam aliorum libri contra Papæ primatum, & præfatio Petri Pauli Vergerii auctoris damnati.* *Index lib. prohib. &c. p. 878.*

fectcd,

fectcd, by the indiscreet zeal of some persons, or the rapine and sacrilege of others : yet since many disorders and irregularities are are invidiously represented as *the pernicious consequences of the tenets* (p. 442) of the reformation, justice solicits us to stop the venom of a petulant adversary, careless whether his accusations are true or false, so they are but confidently made. He beginneth his abuse, *from what was practised with respect to the holy eucharist, on which* (says he) *I shall be something particular.* But first he tells us, that, *preachers were sent about the kingdom, to dissuade the people from assisting at mass, from invocation of saints, veneration of their images and several other articles, which,* forgetting surely that he was writing in a protestant country, he averreth, with a contemptible audacity, *all antiquity had received with reverence, and practised with profit :* but men, more learned than himself, have demonstrated the novel introduction of them into the church, and marked their rapid progress in the reign of superstition and credulity. To proceed with our historian; who says, *soon after, altars were taken down, to withdraw the people from the opinion of the mass,* citing in the margin Doctor Burnet, but without directing us to the volume or page, and leaving out two very material and significant words'. He goes

1 Burnet, v. 2, p. 159. The Bishop's words are these, *superstitious opinions of the popish mass.*

on :

on: *the use was introduced of receiving the sacrament sitting* (p. 443). But this was not done by the reformed church of *England*, whose *rubric*, to stop and prevent this indecency, prescribed *kneeling*; *sitting* was the practice of one single congregation of foreigners only, no way subservient to, or connected with it. Tho', methinks, it is something strange to find this posture objected against by any of the *Romish* church, when their own infallible head sanctifies this *use*, by receiving the eucharist sitting¹. But *impiety* went still greater lengths, and to the horreur of our devout biographer, *men affirmed, that this memorial and pledge of our ransom was of little worth; and in many places it was used with the greatest indignities, thrown out of the churches, and other enormities committed*. May we not ask here, who were these profane and *impious* wretches? were they any of the leaders of the reformed party? and where did Mr. P. get this particular information? He tells us in the margin, from the register-book of the parish of *Petworth*. Has he then inspected the register he so boldly refers to? is he sure he hath not appealed to a non-entity? I can inform him, that no such register-book for that reign is extant; unless he has fortunately found, what the parish itself has unfortunately lost, and will thank him for returning: for the present register goes

¹ *Durand. Rational. lib. 4, c. 54, n. 5. cited in Wheatley on the Liturgy, c. 6, sect. 23, p. 317.*

no farther back than the beginning of *April* 1559; and there is not a single passage in it, upon which a charge, injurious to the reformation, can possibly be founded'. We will therefore suppose, the zealous writer of the old register took it away with him at the accession of *Q. Elizabeth*, lest heretics should erase or cancel it; that at his death he bequeathed it to *Dr. Heylin*, from whom it went to *Collier*, and that from him it hath descended to our historian, with whom it may remain; for after all, what doth it prove? nothing more than that the rector of the parish, or some other devotee of the ancient superstition, vexed to see the progress of the reformation, took care, as far as in him lay, to propagate the slanders of the times, and vent his own malice: for the extract, as cited by *Heylin*, after that part of it which is produced to serve our author's purposes, goeth on thus; "which they condemned by oppugning the established ceremonies, as holy water, holy bread, and divers other usages of the seven sacraments". But *Mr. P.* has himself silenced the cavils that might be made *with respect to the holy eucharist* (p. 442), by confessing, that to prevent *this profane licentiousness there was an act of parliament passed, in the first year of Edward's reign, against such as spoke against*

1 This I am assured of by the reverend *Mr. Wickins*, the present Rector.

2 *Heylin*, *Edw.* 6, p. 63, 64.

the sacrament of the altar (p. 443). And we will add, that it piously restored to that sacred rite, that part of it, which the wanton power of the *Romish* church had, in defiance as it were of its Divine Founder, wickedly deprived her members of, “ by enjoining it to
 “ be ministered to the people in both kinds
 “ of bread and wine, as more conformable
 “ to the common use and practice of the
 “ apostles and primitive church, by the space
 “ of 500 years and more after Christ’s ascen-
 “ sion.”

Our exact historian goes on, in the next paragraph, to bewail the demolition of *the images of the saints, and their shrines*, and the loss of *the plate, jewels, and other costly ornaments which* (he says) *were the same year, by the King’s order, seized, and the spoil divided amongst those who advised the sacrilege* (p. 443). The shrines, and many of the images, were pulled down in the last reign: but the *plate, jewels, &c.* were not seized and *their spoil divided the same year*, that is the first of this King’s reign, but the last; not till 1553, not long before the King’s death, and when he was in bad hands. Soon after, we are told, *the King and Council forbade ashes to be received, and candles and palms to be carried on the days that bear those names.* This order was issued out the beginning of 1548, and

¹ Parliamentary History, v. 3, p. 223. Collier, v. 2, p. 236. Burnet, v. 2, p. 41.

for this good reason, “ because they were
 “ superstitious additions to the worship of
 “ God.”

The next paragraph contains a dismal account of the Protector's rapine and sacrilege: here Mr. P. is in such haste to express his indignation, that he unfortunately sets out with a blunder. *Somerſet* house, he says, *was built on the ruins of the deanery and close of Westminster* (p. 444): whereas *Heylin* could have told him truly, that whatever intentions the Duke might formerly have had of dissolving that chapter, yet he was bought off, and therefore he fixed his eye upon a piece of ground in the *Strand*². We will agree with Mr. P. that he was guilty of some acts of rapine and sacrilege, but let him not be charged with what he did not do. *Barking* chapel was a small monastery adjoining to *Barking* church, which was suppressed and pulled down in 1548³. *St. Martin's le Grand* was another foundation of the same kind, suppressed the same year, and given to the chapter of *Westminster*, who leased it out, and sold the materials⁴. *St. Erwin's* and *St. Nicholas's* churches had been given by *Henry VIII.* to the city of *London*

¹ *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 59.

² P. 60 and 72. If Mr. P. will not believe his friend *Heylin*, let him go to *Westminster* or the *Strand*, and convince himself.

³ *Stowe's Survey*, last edition, V. I, p. 375.

⁴ *Heylin*, p. 60.

towards erecting *Christ-Church* and *Grey-Fryars*¹. In the demolition of these structures, the Protector was not concerned any further, perhaps, than in buying and using the materials: he was not therefore guilty of all the sacrilege laid to his charge. We do not pretend to justify the oppressive actions which the great men about the King, frequently did with too much impunity, to the grief of their own preachers, who remonstrated freely against these crimes, and reprobated those great and haughty sinners for their offences: nor do we offer any vindication of the Protector: though we must be excused if we cannot think, that his erecting *this pile of sacrilege* was any cause of the *pestilence, which swept away so many thousands, the very year it was reared* (p. 444); and which indeed began the year before. The pulling down so many churches, and disturbing the burial places of the dead, and carrying their bodies to other places, were indeed acts of great wrong and violence; “ Yet this
 “ notice of former superstitions was gained
 “ by this barbarity used by him and others.
 “ That among a great number of
 “ rotten carcases were found caskets full of
 “ pardons, safely folded and lapt together in
 “ the bottom of their graves².”

¹ *Stowe's Survey*, p. 627. 628, and 682. *Heylin*, p. 128.

² *Strype's Memorials*, v. 2, p. 181.

The next objection, which our author bringeth to asperse the reformers, is concerning *abstinence from flesh*, and the keeping of *Lent*. Here he again kindly refutes himself, by adding, that *upon bishop Gardiner's complaint a proclamation came forth, which enjoined the observance of Lent; and the King's lenten diet was served up as formerly* (p. 444): and farther still, an act of parliament was passed the next year to enforce that proclamation¹. But what sort of men they were which vented these *novelties*, that they were time-servers and hypocrites, we may learn by the following instance. The *preacher*, mentioned by Mr. P. *who informed his audience, that Lent was a political ordinance, and might be set aside at pleasure*, made his peace afterwards with *Pole*, who forgave him this offence, though his biographer cannot: for Dr. *Glazier* (which was his name) was in such high favour in the next reign of saints, that the cardinal himself honoured him so far, as to make him one of the inquisitors under him, to prosecute heretics².

The *gospellers*, as they are called, do next offend the zeal of our historian, *who asserted the blasphemous doctrine of Calvin, that God is the author of sin* (p. 445). Bishop *Hooper*, says *Heylin*, charges these *gospellers* with

¹ *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 95. *Parliamentary History*, v. 3, p. 246.

² *Strype's Memorials*, v. 2, p. 25, and v. 3, p. 452.

maintaining this doctrine¹; which he would not have done if they had been *Calvin's* disciples: so far from that, our author might have learned from *Collier* that *Calvin* himself wrote against them and their principles, in a letter to the Protector². *The dotages of the Anabaptists* are mentioned here with no other view, but to expose that heinous sin of archbishop *Cranmer*, who took his seat on an altar of the blessed *Virgin*, in *St. Paul's church*, when he examined some of them: but this sin must be laid at the door of that precious saint, bishop *Bonner*, who, himself, or by his officers, as the archbishop told him to his face, prepared the scaffold whereon he was to sit; and whether (said he) there were any altar under it or not, I could not perceive it, nor once suspected it. And this he spoke, when that holy prelate, with his usual meekness and good-nature, insulted his metropolitan in his affliction, for sitting, like *Lucifer*, in the place of Christ, upon an altar³.

But it is not enough for our biographer to insult his countrymen: foreigners also must come in for their share of personal scurrility. The candid and the moderate *Cranmer* thought the best way to come at truth, would be to advise with those of the greatest character for learning and piety. With this view, he encouraged a correspondence with the mild and

¹ *Heylin*, p. 93.

² *Collier*, v. 2, p. 284.

³ *Fox*, v. 3, p. 663.

excellent *Melancthon*, and with *Calvin*, the great director of the *French* churches. Amongst others whom, he invited into *England*, as a place of security from persecution, and who accepted his invitation, were *Martyr*, *Ochin*, and *Alasco*; who are here distinguished by our author's false and injurious calumnies. *Martyr* and *Ochin*, saith he, *were particularly employed to compile a liturgy* (p. 445). *Martyr* and *Bucer*, if he pleases, were consulted, (but not *Ochin*) upon the review of the Liturgy¹. *Martyr* and *Ochin* says Mr. P. *were both monks, and yet entered on a marriage-state, which, though honourable in all, was incompatible with their vows.* If an inspired apostle shall expressly say, *that state is honourable IN ALL*, who shall presume to say, that constrained vows of celibacy are not dishonourable and unlawful? But *Martyr*, quoth he, was a professed *Zuinglian*. He knows nothing of *Martyr* who can assert this. Let Mr. P. consult his dissertation upon the eucharist²; and then, if he knows what it is to be ashamed, let him be ashamed. He has ignorantly traduced a good, a learned, and a modest person, for espousing a doctrine, which, as professor of divinity in *Oxford*, he did formally, and *ex cathedra* oppose: it will not lessen the malignity of these calumnies to urge that they are derived from the informa-

¹ *Strype's Life of Cranmer*, p. 210. *Collier*, v. 2, p. 309.

² *Martyris loci communes*, p. 995, 996. *Strype's Mem.*
v. 2, p. 196. *Life of Cranmer*, p. 201. *Heylin*, p. 79.

tion of the bishop of *Meaux*¹, and Dr. *Heylin*.

Ochin, continues Mr. *P.* became afterwards a declared enemy of the divinity of *Jesus Christ* (p. 445). There is great reason to think he did: but whilst he was in *England* his character was as unexceptionable in every respect, as whilst he was a member of the *Romish* church; when cardinal *Bembo* gave the marchioness of *Pescara* the highest encomium of his life²; when *Gratiani* spoke of him in the warmest terms, as a mirror almost of zeal and piety, relating that he was revered as a saint, and esteemed universally the best preacher in *Italy*³; when the Emperor himself, who heard him at *Naples*, declared that he preached with such spirit and devotion as was sufficient to make the very stones weep⁴; when cardinal *Caraffa* (afterwards *Paul IV.*) could observe no mediocrity in his praises of him, but dwelled, with expressions of rapture, upon the ardour of his devotion, the vehemence of his preaching, and the sanctity of his life.⁵ Afterwards, when exception was taken against, what we hope, were rather unguarded, than wilfully offensive expressions; and he was proscribed from place to place; it is some mitigation of his errors, if such violent treatment occasioned those inconsistencies in his later actions

¹ *Hist. des Var.* v. 1, l. 7, p. 332.

² *Quirini*, v. 2, *Diat.* p. CCLVI.

³ *Gratiani* in his life of *Commendoni*, cited in *Bayle's* Dict. article *Ochin*, note C.

⁴ *Mosheim*, v. 2, p. 73. Note.

⁵ *Quirini*, v. 3, *Diat.* p. LXXXVI & seq.

and

and writings, that blasted the fair character to which the former part of his life had given him so just a title. After all, he may be greatly injured by the misrepresentations of declared enemies; who, in his life-time, making no allowance for the weakneses of old age, and a mind continually oppressed by insults, exaggerated all his failings. Candid and impartial posterity will rather deem him an object of compassion, than dwell with pleasure upon his unfortunate fall¹.

Alasco comes next for his share of personal abuse, and is said to have adopted *the errors of Zuinglius* (p. 445). Mr. P. should have told us what those errors were. *Zuinglius* is recorded to have been a man of great fanc-
tity of manners, ability and resolution; his doctrine of the eucharist was, that the elements of bread and wine were only signs and symbols of the absent body and blood of Christ². Whether *Alasco* was his, or *Calvin's* disciple, I know not; *Sotomajor* hath marked him for a *Lutheran* heretic³, and our writer here for a *Zuinglian*, because he found that *Heylin*, *Collier*, and some others speak more reproachfully of *Zuinglius* than *Calvin*. *Alasco*, it seems, found out twelve different meanings

¹ See more of *Ochin*, *Bayle's Dict. Ochin. Mosheim*, v. 2, p. 230.

² *Mosheim*, v. 2, p. 191, 197. See also p. 26, 27, of the same vol.

³ *Johannes a Lasco Polonus. Luth. Theol. Index prohib: &c.* p. 631.

of the words of the institution of the eucharist; but whether any, or all, or none of them were contrary to the true doctrine, we are still to seek. If this be heretical, Dr. *Waterland* hath almost as much to answer for, as *Alasco*; for the Doctor, in his learned review of the eucharist, hath taken notice of *Ten* of the most noted names under which it hath been anciently spoken of¹. And if any shall be inclined to think this an impeachment either of the Doctor's or the reformer's orthodoxy, we will offer this apology for them both; and, in the language of one who carried his notions of the efficacy of the eucharist to the highest pitch: "as the nature, office, and condition of our Saviour could not be made known to us, but by a variety of different names and titles ascribed to him, so the nature, end and effects of this holy sacrament could not be made known unto us, but by a variety of different names and titles ascribed to it²." But further still, *Alasco* rejected baptism, which, he said, was become an idolatry (p. 445). I cannot help looking upon this as one of Mr. P's borrowed untruths, because I find this reformer recorded as an early writer against, and strenuous opposer of, *Menno's* doctrine, who was the founder of the *Anabaptists* in *Holland*. As for his other frenzies, when they

¹ *Waterland's* Review, c. i, p. 24 & seq.

² *Law's* Answer to the Plain Account, &c. p. 126.

are produced, it will be time enough either to acquit or condemn him. He is universally represented as a person of great learning and piety: this character he bore through life; and is only censurable for meddling, rather more than became him, in the disputes about ceremonies.

Thus have we seen how far what is *related by Mr. P, as matter of fact, in which all history is agreed* (p. 446), is chargeable on the leading reformers in *England*. He has, however, made a flourishing reference at the bottom of his page, and has stuffed it with a number of vouchers to confirm his evidence. But do any of them (besides *Bossuet*) impute these corruptions to the principles of the reformation? for unless that is shewn, nothing is gained by general and random exclamations. Our author's principal guide is *Heylin*, next to him is *Collier*, (for the others are named but by way of parade) men indeed of reading and abilities, but of soured tempers; and who, writing under the impression of strong passions and prejudices, took too much pleasure in defaming those, who did not fully come up to their notions of church communion, and are therefore to be read with some caution and allowance².

¹ *Strype*, v. 2, p. 240. *Life of Cranmer*, p. 234 & seq. *Life of Parker*, p. 288. *Carte*, v. 3, p. 254. *Collier*, v. 2, p. 292. *Heylin*, p. 92. See more of him, *Adamus Vit. exter. Theol.* p. 19. *Verheiden*, p. 88. and *Clarke*, p. 572. *Fuller's Abel Rediv.* p. 243.

² *Bishop Burnet*, considering the provocation given him,

A long quotation from bishop *Burnet*, to prove the iniquities of the times, closes the rear. Mr. *Dod* had been beforehand with our author, in making this particular appeal: and they were both so well satisfied with it, that they would not give themselves the trouble of turning over *the following page*, because, then, they must have observed, that though the bishop hath candidly acknowledged the profligacy of some who had listed under the banners of the reformation; yet, that he hath added, immediately after the passages which these two adversaries of the reformation have so eagerly caught at, "it is true, " there were great and shining lights amongst " the professors of the gospel, whose exem- " plary deportment, continual labours, fervent charity, and constant zeal, both during their lives, and at their death, kept up the credit of the reformation, as much " as it was disgraced by others, though few " in comparison of the many bad. This" he tells us, " was much lamented by the " good men of that time". And we know how zealously *Latimer*³, *Lever*⁴, *Knox*⁵, holy him, has very gently shewn both the spirit and the temper of *Collier* and his history, in the preface to the 3^d volume of his History of the Reformation, p. iii & seq. And Mr. *Lewis* of *Mergate*, in his life of *Reginald Pecock*, p. 174, Note. p. 196 and 271. and in his life of *Wicliff*, p. 187 & seq. has detected some of his misrepresentations.

1 V. i, p. 350.
 2 *Burnet*, v. 3, p. 218. 3 In almost all his sermons. See also *Strype's Memorials*, v. 2, p. 439.
 4 *Id. ib.* p. 258. 5 *Id. ib.* p. 397.

Gilpin,

*Gilpin*¹, and others, thundered against these iniquities, in all their public discourses. The truth is, the purity of a religion is no more to be estimated by the lives of its professors, than the excellency of any civil constitution is affected, because violent and wicked men offend against the laws of it.

At this time, and by our author's own confession, a general corruption of manners prevailed every where, in *his* church as well as *ours*; "not," as Mr. *Strype* well remarks, "that these days of King *Edward* were worse than the former, but that now, upon the light of the gospel, these wickednesses that were not so much regarded before, were now more observed²." And this was occasioned, not as Mr. *P.* and his trifling vouchers³ in the margin presumptuously say, by

¹ *Id. ibid.* p. 369, 440.

² *Id. ib.* p. 453.

³ The three authors, bishop *White*, *Weston*, and *Hubbard*, whom Mr. *P.* has thrown into his margin, for the greater parade of shewing his reading, and whom he hath made to talk so learnedly upon *the authority of the church, and the criterion of truth and falsehood*, he found all together in the same page in *Heylin*, (p. 106) where they are introduced upon the subject of changing altars into tables. It would swell this Note to too great a length, to dwell upon the insolence, the profaneness, the effrontery of *White* and *Weston*: the words which *Heylin* hath put down, were spoken, when these boisterous, prating and merciless zealots were hunting *Ridley* and *Latimer* out of their lives: I shall content myself with referring to *Heylin's* author, *Fox*, in his book of martyrs, v. 3, p. 85. the disputation of Mr. *Latimer* at *Oxford*, and the last examination of *Ridley* and *Latimer* before the commissioners. p. 496, 497. In which the reader will see ignorance, bigotry, and cruelty in perfection.

departing

departing from the authority of, what they vainly call, the church, but by men of no religious principles at all, pretending a zeal for the reformation, only to undermine it the more successfully; calling themselves outwardly the friends of that cause, to render it by their actions, the more offensive; and fomenting divisions, to promote the interest of that religion which they had not left: for such purposes as these, all measures were fair and sanctified. Many are the instances in Queen Elizabeth's reign, of dispensations granted by the Pope, for the active instruments of darkness to put on any shape, and to appear as preachers, as puritans, as merchants, as soldiers, &c. so they could any ways carry on the spirit of dissention, and ruin that church, whose peace, purity and prosperity is the constant object of their implacable animosity'. They began this diabolical craft early in Edward's reign: for we read of two pretended Anabaptists, who were sent over into England, and recommended to the care of Gardiner, and another bishop, who, being upon the spot, could give them the right cue, and the surest directions to do the most mischief².

These were great obstructions to the progress of the reformation; and if to these be added, the King's minority, a divided admi-

¹ *Strype's History*, v. 1. p. 220, 221, 375, 376, 484, 485, 521, &c.

² *Id. Life of Cranmer*, p. 207, *Carte*, v. 3, p. 252.
nistration,

nistraton, and the coldness and indolence of many of those who engaged to support it, we shall cease to wonder at the melancholy account which some writers give us of the state of religion during this unsettled reign: it was disturbed by hypocrites; by dissolute people; by those who hankered after the revenues of the church; by greedy courtiers, who were of no religion at all, but, with every revolution of government, professed that which was uppermost; by many who “ outwardly conformed themselves unto the “ King’s proceedings and injunctions, “ but inwardly preserved their good-will to “ their former superstitions”. Such was the case then, and such will it ever be in similar circumstances. Offices and lucrative employments in the state were the appointments of those chiefly who admitted the new regulations in the church. Is it then to be wondered if there were found many time-servers and hypocrites, men without honour or any serious regard to religion, who adopted the latter merely for the sake of the former. But the reformation is not chargeable with their irregularities, nor is it to be impeached for the dissolute conduct of its pretended professors. Their wicked lives were then constantly rebuked by their zealous and pious preachers; and we now are still ready to condemn them, and to join with Mr. *P.* in censuring them to the utmost: but let us be permitted

at the same time to applaud the virtues of those great and good men, who in the midst of the worst examples and the most unfavourable circumstances persevered uprightly in those principles which from conviction and conscience they had embraced. This was the state of religion during this reign, beginning to shine, and sometimes blazing out, but soon overshadowed and darkened by intervening clouds. We are firmly persuaded of this, that the cruelties of the succeeding Prince most effectually established that church she intended to root out, and which the state of affairs in *Edward's* reign had well nigh undermined; for then, as gold is tried in the fire, so were acceptable men in the furnace of adversity, and their seed took root downward, and hath born fruit upward to this day, and still promiseth a flourishing perpetuity.

In all these revolutions, saith Mr. P, the frame of the state had not been less convulsed than that of the church (p. 446). How so? The regency was set aside, and the duke of Somerset invested with the whole power (p. 447), many commotions appeared, which threatened the tranquillity of the whole kingdom. True: some malevolent, intriguing, discontented priests had art enough to raise insurrections, but had neither power nor ability to conduct them; the demands of the rebels were rejected, and they were soon quelled. The Protector's fall must be placed, amongst those revolutions, which had been
caused

caused by them (p. 448). This is new, but let it pass. *He had taken the title of duke of Somerset, by the divine permission* (p. 449). Where did Mr. P. get this anecdote? if he will consult his friend *Heylin*, he will tell him, his *title* ran *by the grace of God*, and also how well beloved in general he was by the common people¹. The rupture between him and his brother proved unfortunate to them both. Their common enemies continued to irritate the duke so much against him, that he was at last prevailed upon to sign the warrant for his execution: though we learn from the most unexceptionable authority, “ that if the admiral had been suffered “ to have spoken with the duke, he had “ never suffered; but the persuasions that “ were made to him were so great, that he “ (the duke) was brought in belief that he “ could not live safely, if the admiral lived; “ and that made him give his consent to his “ death.” By these means, he lost that strength, which, if united with his own power, might have supported him in his authority: and he fell, as Mr. P. truly observes, *a victim to the intrigues of one . . . more ambitious than himself* (p. 449): “ losing his life “ for a small crime, and that upon a nice “ point subtilly devised, and packed by his

¹ *Heylin*, p. 118.

² A MS. letter of the Princess, afterwards Queen, *Elizabeth* to Queen *Mary*. *Vid.* Appendix, N^o II.

“enemies’.” Our historians are full of the general good-will the nation bore to the Protector. Even at this distance of time, we cannot but pity our church and state for the villainous hands they fell into after his death, and lament that the good young King was surrounded by harpies, who neither regarded the kingdom’s credit, the good of religion, the King’s honour, nor perhaps his life.

The nation was soon deprived of the pleasing expectation it had formed from the King’s amazing parts and unwearied application to business; and whilst his subjects flattered themselves that he would be their delight and joy, they saw him decay apace, and finish his career of glory, before, almost, he had entered upon it. Mr. P, to give us his sentiments of this event, has referred to a passage in the book of *Ecclesiastes*: we therefore will close our remarks upon this reign with an observation, drawn also from scripture: that God in his mercy took the young King to Himself, that, like Josiah, his eyes might not see all the evil that He would bring upon this place and upon the inhabitants of the same: He graciously deferred the chastisement of this nation, and sent not upon her, till after his decease, a rod in his anger and a FURY to scourge her.

In the midst of these confusions. . . . an incident, says Mr. P, happened, which gave

Camden’s Britannia, Somersetshire. Ed. 1637, p. 240 at the conclusion.

cardinal

cardinal Pole an opportunity of shewing a moderation of desires and greatness of soul (p. 449, 450). Which, we are to suppose, he eminently displayed by the refusal of the proffered popedom: this he certainly lost by his own folly and wilfulness; behaving during the whole contest, to use his own expression, like an insensible beast; so that, considering the factions in the conclave, which lasted not *two* (p. 453), but three *months*, it was impossible for his friends to serve him effectually, since they could neither know whether he would or would not be Pope: his deportment was so strange and unaccountable throughout, that he at last sufficiently convinced them, that he was not in the least qualified for any active station of life. The history of *this transaction, and of the cardinal's behaviour and sentiments of the whole affair* (p. 452), is very circumstantially related in his letter to his friend the *bishop of Navarra, to whom . . . he opened himself without reserve*. Many passages are brought by Mr. P, from this letter, to illustrate the cardinal's *steadiness and greatness of mind*. But how well they answer this purpose, will best appear, when a few of Mr. P's chasms are filled up.

The letter itself is exceedingly long, and as it was written four months after the affair was over, the cardinal had had time enough to recover and recollect his senses. His friend the *bishop of Navarra* had, it seems, complimented him upon his magnanimity and
fortitude

fortitude; *Pole*, in his answer, tells him, that this was so far from being the state of his mind, that they made truer conjectures who attributed his conduct to a mean and indolent disposition; but that the opinion of others was still nearer the truth, who supposed he was frightened at the greatness of the burthen¹. He tells him farther, and calleth God to witness, that when several in the conclave offered him their voices, he was no more affected than if he had been one of those beasts who neither desire nor despise honours, because they have no sense of them². And afterwards, when one of the leading men offered him all the assistance in his power; I made him, says he, no reply, any more than if he had been talking to a beast; I absolutely held my tongue I did not speak a word, and though I afterwards corrected this fault of taciturnity, yet as to the passions of joy or grief, I had no more feeling of them, than if I had been a beast whom nature had deprived of all sense of honour³. And

¹ *Ut judicarem, minus in ea exprimenda errasse eos, qui me contrario vitio, id est pusilli animi & ignaviae accusarunt, proxime vero ad veritatem accessisse orationem eorum, qui me oneris magnitudine deterritum, minus parato ad id subeundum animo fuisse dixerunt.*

Quirini, v. 4, Ep. Poli Episcopo Pacensi, p. 55.

² *Nihil magis (testor Deum) afficiebar illorum vocibus, ac si unum ex illis jumentis fuisset, quæ honorem propterea neque desiderant, neque spernunt, quia nullum ejus sensum a natura insitum habent.*

Id. ib. p. 57.

³ *Ad hæc quidem non aliter respondi, ac si dicta jumento fuissent, prorsus enim tacui . . . ne vocem plane misi . . . quod taciturnitatis vitium etsi postea correxi . . . tamen*
quod

when two of the most considerable of his order acquainted him, that they had now got a sufficient number in his favour; and intreated him to come into the chapel and receive their adoration. Then, “because his cell
 “was the nearest to the right of the great
 “chapel, he looked upon himself as the
 “ass, that was tyed at its master’s gate,
 “when Christ sent two of his disciples to
 “loose it and bring it to him, that he might
 “ride upon it into the holy city: these,”
 “says he, “were my thoughts; though
 “others may think, I was not that ass, be-
 “cause I was not immediately loosed and
 “brought. I, by no means,” adds he,
 “scorned to consent, but I feared the night
 “and darkness; whether this was right or
 “no, I will not dispute now: nor am I of-
 “fering an apology for what I did, but only
 “relating what was done. I was indeed
 “fearful of night and darkness, as being an
 “improper season to loose that beast, upon
 “which the meek King was to enter the
 “holy city, that is the church, which the
 “SS. declare to be done in broad day light:
 “I therefore desired the matter might be de-
 “ferred till the light’.” Was this canting

*quod ad illos animi sensus attinet vel lætitiæ vel doloris
 nihilo certe plus ego sensi, id est quam si jumentum ejus ge-
 neris factus essem, quod natura omni sensu honoris penitus
 privavit. Id. ib. p 57, 58.*

*I Quorum mandata ut audivi, . . . mihi certe venit in mentem
 G g illius*

likely to recommend him to a parcel of intriguing cardinals? was not such absurd behaviour the surest way to kindle afresh the feuds in the conclave, which, he knew, were carried on with dangerous and shameful violences'. His friends, however, made one effort more to animate this passive machine, to rouse this insensible animal; they sent, a very short time after, a fresh deputation to assure him, that they had proposed nothing, but what was usual, lawful, and right: by this time he had so far recovered him-

illius aselli, qui cum ad ostium domini sui staret alligatus, misit Christus duos, qui eum solverent, & ad se adducerent, quod ipse sanctam civitatem in eo sedens ingredi vellet. Sic enim cogitavi, audiens, quæ duo illi in mandatis haberent, eosque propterea venisse, ut me ex eo loco deducerent, quæ a dextra ingredienti januam majoris sacelli, tanquam ad ostium Domini mei alligatus stabam (ibi enim constituta erat, quæ mihi obtigerat, cella.) Eos igitur sic audiebam quasi a Christo missos; ita vero meipsum intuebar, tanquam asellum, de quo mox dixi; hæc enim species mihi de metipso tum maxime animo observabatur, etsi aliis fortasse videri possim hanc ipsam personam deposuisse; propterea quod non statim ab illis me solvi sum passus, & deduci. Ego vero consensum illum minime sum aspernatus, sed noctem & tenebras (ut verum fatear) extimui. Rectene, an secus? Hic non disputabo; neque enim quam recte fecerim, explicare constitui, sed tantum quid fecerim. Ego igitur, cum noctem & tenebras nonnihil suspectas haberem, ut quæ minime aptæ viderentur ad illud jumentum solvendum, in quo Rex illè mansuetus insidens, civitatem sanctam, id est ecclesiam, ingressurus esset, quem sacris literis proditum est, clara luce ingressum fuisse, ut res ad lucem differetur postulavi. Id. ib.

p. 58, 59.

I Periculosus & minime gloriosus contentioibus, Id. ib.

p. 62.

self,

self, that he told them, he would obey their commands ; and in this, says he, I returned again to personate the ass¹. But no sooner were the cardinals retired out of his cell, than he was seized with his old qualms, repented of what he had promised, and immediately sent a message to them, desiring them, if possible, to put off the business till the morning. The cardinals, tired with so preposterous a mortal, deserted him at once ; and his messenger returned, and told him, that he had found them of their own accord, already come to that resolution ; and, to his great surprize and disappointment, he discovered the next morning, that they had no occasion for his attendance in the chapel ; *other views and dispositions*, as Mr. P. says, then took place (p. 458)².

This was that *behaviour*, which, our historian says, *gave a greatness to his private character, which no elevation could have equalled* (p. 459). When a man is determined at all events to utter a panegyric, it is no difficult matter to give a fair and plausible turn to the absurdest actions. From *Pole's* own narration, it is clear, that he was absolutely unfit for that high and active station. When the point came to a crisis, and it was requisite for him to declare, whether he would accept the

¹ *In quo sane mihi videbar ad jumenti personam rediisse.*
Id. ib. p. 59.

² *Idem consilium sua sponte cepisse reperit.* P. 59.

popedom or no, his whole conduct was so ridiculously fanatical, that his friends were ashamed of it, and thought of him no more. The present exigences of their church, they well knew, required, in *Pole's* own metaphorical language, a bold and steady pilot; and that a *log*, or an *ass*, would have neither skill nor sagacity sufficient to steer *St. Peter's* ship, with an even and steady hand, which was now in great jeopardy, tossed about with violent storms, and in danger of continual attacks from the alarming number of heretical pirates.¹ They turned therefore their eyes (being so deceived in him) to another person, and the opposite party having amused *Pole*, till the *French* cardinals could arrive, managed their point so artfully, that the popedom slipped through his hands when he thought it most secure; and, when he little dreamed of it, one was put over his head,² who had no such fantastical scruples about the night or the darkness, and who thought he could fill *St. Peter's* chair full as well as if he had been chosen in open day light.

When the election was thus determined to the no small disappointment of our mystical quietist, he then found out, not that he did not represent the *ass* he had described, but

¹ See p. 130.

² *Mihi nec opinanti significatum est, inter partes tandem convenisse, ut, me præterito alterum eligerent. Id. ib. p. 62.*

that the Lord did not want that particular one². And he comforted himself with this reflection, that as his successful competitor was his senior in the college of cardinals, and had gone through all the honours of his station before him, and also had been first, the chief of the three, and afterwards the only remaining legate at the Council, here was a plain declaration of heaven that he alone should be the supreme head of the universal church, of which that Council was a type¹.

Since therefore *Pole* affected to bear this loss with so much insensibility, we will not express any concern for him upon that account. Though we cannot but observe that, this *senate of the universal church* (p. 147), which the late Pope, we have been informed, had taken care should be composed of none but persons of distinguished merit, whose examples

2. *Atqui si illud non contigit, ut is (sc. Christus) a me reclusus in civitatem sanctam publice ingrederetur, hoc quidem non ostendit, me non ejus jumento personam gessisse, sed ipsum Dominum hoc jumento opus non habuisse, id enim exitus rei declaravit.* Id. p. 59.

1. *Etenim cum ipse mecum considero, quemadmodum is primum per omnes honorum gradus, tum urbanorum, tum provincialium, ascenderit; tum legatus consilio, additis duobus collegis, ita sit præfectus, ut deinde cum altero, postremo solus remanserit, ex hoc quidem nihil aliud mihi intelligere videor, præter tacitam quandam divinæ voluntatis significationem ut, (quod factum cernimus) is solus universæ ecclesiæ, cujus imaginem concilium refert, præficeretur.* Id. p. 64.

might recall the ancient splendour of the priesthood (p. 141) would have done themselves less dishonour had they elected that senseless stock, than in making choice of a man of so flagitious and infamously immoral character as cardinal *Monti*, for the chief Pastor of the Christian world (p. 459). While the conclave was sitting, a letter from a servant of one of the cardinals to a male favorite, full of the most shameful expressions, was intercepted, and made public: this gave many serious persons occasion to say, that he must necessarily be an obscene Pope who was to proceed from a conclave from whence such obscene letters could be written. The event fully justified their suspicions: and the church of *Rome* had soon an evident proof, how little regard to virtue her cardinals discovered in the choice of her new Pontiff, when he conferred his own hat upon the keeper of his monkey, a youth for whom he was supposed to retain an affection of the most infamous nature¹.

After this, as Mr. *P.* learned from *Quirini*², *Pole* retired to his government of the province of the patrimony (p. 460); but it seems, as if he could not so easily get over his chagrin and vexation at what had lately happened, as our author would persuade us;

¹ *Sleidan*, b. 21, p. 492, 493. *Thuan.* lib. 6. A. D. 1550. See also *Pallav.* lib. 11, c. 7, n. 4.

² *Quirini*, v. 4, App. p. XLVI, XLVII.

for instead of going to *Viterbo*, the usual seat of the governor (p. 297), he chose to make *Bagnarea* the place of his residence. And at last, not being able to get the better of his spleen, he took shelter in a *monastery* (p. 460): and we hear little or nothing of him: till his melancholy was diverted by a new scene of affairs opening in *England*; the accession of his favourite *Mary* to the throne of that kingdom.

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE EIGHTH.

WE are now come to halcyon days, to the triumph of faith, zeal and piety, when the catholic *Mary* blessed these kingdoms with her tender and religious government; an event which calls forth all the powers of Mr. P's eloquence to celebrate the blessings of it. No sooner was her accession signified at *Rome*, than our cardinal was immediately thought of, as the properest person to make the most advantages of the present hopeful state of affairs in *England*. He was therefore *again called forth to action* (2d pt. p. 1.) and drawn from his melancholy *retirement at Maguza* to enter upon another spiritual negotiation, which promised a more successful issue than any he had formerly been engaged in. But, though the Pope had prepared every thing for him, a worldly prudence occurred, and the cardinal would not stir, till he was *informed of the queen's disposition, and the state of the nation.* (p. 4.) This
occa-

occasioned the correspondence between the queen and the cardinal, which Mr. P. has inserted in the course of this section.

By this it appears, that great care and circumspection was thought necessary at first, to keep this epistolary intercourse so secret, that if possible, it might not even be suspected, for the temper of the nation was such, it would not yet bear any overtures of a reconciliation with the See of *Rome*. A correspondence of this nature required great art and address in carrying it on. *Cardinal Dandino* the papal

Dandino: so is this cardinal called uniformly, by the Queen herself, by *Quirini*, by *Beccatelli*, *Dudithius* and the other historians of those times; and not, as he is constantly, by Mr. P. *Dandalo*. Our author, indeed, is above attending to such minutiae. Some of his misnomers in the former part of his work, have occasionally been pointed out. In his second part, he seems still more inattentive to such trivial matters: P. 12, Mr. P. calls the lady *Jane Grey*, lady *Jane Brandon*. And p. 37. he represents her as transcribing a sentence out of her book of devotions, &c. No such thing was done. She gave the constable of the tower that book, having just before her execution written some sentences in it. v. *Heylin*, p. 167. and *Biog. Brit.* Article *Grey*, note R. P. 12. Mr. P. calls Sir *James Hales*, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, Lord Chief Justice, and one of the privy council. P. 17. *Courtenay*, is said to be son to the marquis of *Winchester*, instead of *Exeter*. He was soon after created earl of *Devonshire*. P. 18. and other places *Goldwell*, for so *Rymer*, and all the *English* writers call him, (except Mr. *Dod*) Mr. P. mentions by the name of *Godwell*. Indeed, I find his name so written amongst the subscribers to the council of *Trent*. P. 82. The Earl of *Arundel*, who was Lord Steward, is styled High Chamberlain. P. 78. Sir *Anthony Brown*, lately created Lord *Montague*, Mr. P. calls, *Pole's* nephew, taking him for a son of his elder brother.

ambas-

ambassador at the Emperor's court, (p. 6.) undertook, we are told, the management of it: and dispatched his secretary into *England* with *Pole's* letters to the Queen, who gave him ample assurances of her attachment to the catholic cause; but it was under such strong injunctions of secrecy, that being informed by her ambassador at *Venice*, that the secretary had communicated her intentions, too publicly, to the consistory at *Rome*. She complained thereof to *Pole* assuring him, that if such reports should come to the knowledge of the parliament, the late statutes concerning religion, and the new assumed supremacy would not be so readily repealed¹. A complaint of this nature, and at so critical a juncture, was deemed worthy of his Holiness's own interposition, who wrote to the Queen himself to assure her of the falseness of that intelligence, that all that the messenger had informed the consistory of was, what he had seen and heard, namely, the execution, repentance, and prayers of the condemned rebels; and those public actions of hers which testified her catholic and pious disposition; what more she had heard, was, he told her, only raised to prejudice her against the apostolic See².

Noailles, the French ambassador at the court

¹ *Quirini*, v. 4. *Ep. Mariae Reg. Ang. Polo*, p. 119, 120. *Collier*, v. 2. p. 352.

² *Quirini*, v. 4. *Julius P. P. III. Mariae Reg. Angliae*, p. 432.

of England, (p. 9) easily perceived the drift of this communication between Rome and England; he gave his court early intimation of the Legate's commission, and of the necessity that it should be upon a good footing with him, who, says he, "*if once he comes hither, will have the first place in the Queen's confidence, to the no small displeasure of the Chancellor, and of several of the nobility, who, on account of their religious principles, will see with regret, not, (as Mr. P. translates the next words,) a churchman, but, such a servant of the Pope, at the head of the ministry:* (p. 10) for the Queen, (he adds) has already raised up so many enemies against her, upon the account of religion, that there needs but little fresh matter to put all things into confusion'."

No sooner was *Mary* seated on the throne, than she began to shew the temper of her reign. There could indeed be little hopes of any attention to law or decency, when the Sovereign avowedly put herself at the head of a party, and brought to the crown all the irritated passions of a disgusted subject. Her naturally gloomy temper had long been soured by those hardships which her father's violence compelled her to submit to; this gave

I --- *De quoi j'estime que le Chancelier n'aura trop de plaisir, & beaucoup moingz grand nombre de Millords, & du peuple qui voudront mal volontiers porter obeissance a ung tel ministre du Pape, &c. Ambassades de Noailles, v. 2, p. 136.*

her

her an unconquerable aversion to every subsequent measure: she looked upon her cause and popery to be one and the same, and herself in some measure a confessor for the Pope's supremacy. Although she had paid, in her father's life-time a temporary feigned obedience to his laws; yet, by pleading her brother's minority, for opposing his religious regulations, she became involved in a dispute with his ministry concerning the indulgence she claimed of the full exercise of her religion, at a time when the laws made it penal. This increased her aversion to the reformation, which upon her accession to the regal power, broke out in the strongest symptoms of rancour, and superstition.

Her *memorable reply* (p. 10) to the Emperor's prudent advice, that *She was resolved to use no delay in testifying her gratitude to Him, to whom She owed her safety and dignity &c.* (p. 11) would have been more to her credit, had her words and actions always corresponded; but, perhaps, her zeal suggested to her, that her gratitude to God was best expressed, by forfeiting her veracity to man. When the people of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who were for the most part favourers of the reformation, took up arms in her behalf, She promised them, not to alter the laws then in being: but no sooner was She seated on the throne, than She shewed her grateful sense of their assistance, in pillorying the presumptuous person who reminded

ed her of her word.' And in imprisoning the preachers and others of their religion, not for civil, so much as religious offences. For, "saith *Strype*, not only all that were in Queen *Jane's* business, but also that were suspected of any inclination to the gospel, or that had shewn any dislike of the present affairs, being fetched in, and committed to prison upon some pretence or other." Though as the same author elsewhere observes, "it was notorious . . . that they were protestants chiefly that placed her in her kingdom; and the consideration of her religion did but little advance her designs. For at this time the interest of the papists was but little; and the people generally was earnestly disposed to, and highly pleased with King *Edward's* reformation¹." And his laws were still in force.

The execution of the profligate duke of *Northumberland*, and those who suffered with him, was an act of necessary justice. The duke could expect no favour. The whole scheme of the late King's settlement was the product of his ambition, he had ruined his whole family, he had made the lord *Guildford Dudley*, (the most hopeful of all his children) and his matchless Lady the victims of his hypocrisy, pride and lust of power. He was not, there-

¹ *Strype's* memorials, v. 3, p. 52. *Burnet*, v. 2. p. 246.

Carte, v. 3, p. 293.

² *Strype's* Mem. v. 3. p. 50.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 11.

fore, an object of mercy, and he died unpitied, and detested. *A general pardon*, saith Mr. P. *with few exceptions, followed these acts of justice.* (p. 17). An Act of Grace was indeed passed, as soon as the parliament met, but it was so limited and restrained, and so far from being *general*, that it had nothing more than the name and shew of mercy: it was clogged with such severe provisos, that those whom it most of all concerned could reap no benefit from it at all¹. For the goals were full of prisoners, who were particularly excepted out of it.

The Queen found her subjects not quite so ready to embrace the ancient religious customs as she herself was: her new preachers were not heard with the respect she intended they should, nor sometimes indeed without unjustifiable tumults. There was one, in particular, at St. Paul's cathedral which rose to a great height, for the preacher, in praising that holy confessor bishop Bonner to his face, and inveighing against the proceedings in the late reign, so irritated his audience, that his zeal had well nigh endangered his life². This occasioned a proclamation from the Queen, signifying, that however she might be determined herself, yet she would compel none to her religion; but then came in this *salvo*, un-

¹ Heylin, p. 21. Burnet, v. 2, p. 253. Parliamentary history, v. 3, p. 292.

² Heylin, p. 22. Strype's Mem. v. 3, p. 21. Burnet, v. 2, p. 245. Collier, v. 2, p. 345.

til such time as further order by common consent, might be taken therein — that is, in effect, says Mr. *Strype*, to tell her subjects, as soon as she could compel them by act of parliament, she would ¹. In the same proclamation all preaching and printing, without licence, was forbidden: and within three days after, another came out commanding that no man should REASON against her proceedings; by which it appears plainly there were great discontents amongst the people; and that tho' the Queen's right was chearfully acknowledged, and for conscience sake submitted to; yet it was not to the *universal satisfaction of all orders of the nation* (p. 17). The eagerness of her officious clergy and the violence with which they every where introduced the ancient superstition, occasioned frequent and continual disturbances; but they sheltered themselves, says *Heylin*, under the name of setting forward the Queen's proceedings²: in which, indeed, they were countenanced by her own actions, for she signalized her coronation and the meeting of the parliament, which was immediately after it, with a notorious and public breach of the laws then in being.

The parliament, however, soon gave their sanction to every innovation, and after the plausible act for moderating treasonable and

¹ *Strype's Mem.* v. 3. p. 25, 26. *Burnet*, v. 2. p. 245. *Heylin*, p. 22.

² *Heylin's history of Queen Mary*, p. 24.

feloni-

felonious offences, the legitimacy of the Queen, was fully established, or as Mr. P. words it, *The houses declare the validity of the marriage between King Henry, and Catharine of Arragon . . . and express their highest disapprobation of Cranmer's behaviour in that proceeding, of which, indeed, they give many shameful instances* (p. 18). The parliament, by this and other acts, shewed their obsequiousness to the court, and how easily men of no principles could run from one religion to the other. But *Gardiner*, who as prime minister, had the direction of every thing, must as bishop *Burnet* observes, “be past all shame: when he could
 “ frame such an act, of a business, which himself
 “ had so violently and servilely promoted
 “ The laying the divorce upon *Cranmer*, was
 “ as high a pitch of malice and impudence as
 “ could be devised’.” For in the management of it *Gardiner* himself had been much employed, and was one of *Henry's* most active instruments at home and abroad, had written in defense of his, and against the Pope's supremacy, and was the man who introduced *Cranmer* to the King's acquaintance, and with other popish bishops, sat in commission with him, when he, as primate, pronounced the sentence of divorce against Queen *Catharine* and declared her marriage with King *Henry* null and void.

1 *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 254.

The parliament however was not complaisant enough to go all the lengths which were wanted; it had indeed, but not without a debate, which lasted six days, ¹ repealed all the acts in favour of the reformation, but would neither allow of the Pope's supremacy, nor approve of the intended match with *Spain*; it was therefore dissolved in hopes that a more pliable one might be procured. But what was enacted, was too material not to be communicated to the *Legate*. The Queen dispatched *Goldwell* (afterwards bishop of *St. Asaph*) to inform him of these important particulars, as forerunners of greater changes. *Pole* sent back the messenger with a long suit of instructions. These Mr. *P.* (p. 22—27) hath jumbled together with a few passages he met with in one of *Pole's* letters to the Queen preserved by *Quirini* ², but in which, though Mr. *P.* asserts it, there is no mention made either of that messenger or his instructions ³. Thus far then all went smooth enough for the *Legate*, who was hastening to *England* when he was forbidden by the Emperor to proceed, lest he should retard his son's match with the Queen; even she herself seems not

¹ Parliamentary history, v. 3. p. 295.

² *Quirini*, v. 4, p. 123.

³ These instructions occur at large in *Strype's* life of *Cranmer*, Appendix, p. 170. and briefly in *Collier*, v. 2, p. 352, 353, and in *Burnet*, v. 2. History, p. 260. Records, p. 250, all referring, as well as Mr. *P.*, to *Cotton Titus*, B. 2.

to have been without the same apprehensions, by ordering *Mason*, her ambassadour at the Emperor's court, to prevent his coming nearer, as he was the only person, who was likely to prevail on her to alter her mind¹. The parliament had been dissolved, that no further impediment might arise from that quarter, the house of commons having presumed to remonstrate against the intended marriage, not upon *Gardiner's* proposing it in council, as Mr. P. says, (p. 32) (which was not till some weeks after their dissolution) but upon the rumour being spread, that the Queen was going to marry *Philip*.²

The Queen, who seemed very little solicitous to secure the good will of her subjects, was determined to persevere in her intentions; and the *Spanish* ambassadors being arrived, she ordered *Gardiner* to inform the court, and the next day the city of *London* therewith. Within six days after, saith *John Stowe*, word was brought that divers rebels were up in *Devonshire*, and soon after others in *Kent*: “the purpose of the Queen's marriage, saith
“he, was so grievously taken of divers Men,
“that for this and for religion they in such
“sort conspired against the Queen, that if the

¹ *Ambassades de Noailles*, v. 2. p. 244.

² *Parliamentary history*, v. 3. p. 300. *Burnet*, v. 2. p. 261. *Strype Mem.* v. 3, p. 55. the Parliament was dissolved the 6th of *December*; and *Gardiner* acquainted the court the 14th of *January* following with the articles of the approaching Nuptials.

“matter had not broken out before the time
 “by them appointed, men thought it would
 “have brought much trouble and danger’.”
 The *Devonshire* commotion was soon suppressed; but the *Kentish* insurrection under Sir *Thomas Wyatt* bore at first a formidable aspect. As he did not pretend to take up arms upon religious motives, but urged only the popular plea of a dislike to the *Spanish* match, many papists joined him. At the Queen’s accession, he had given her signal proofs of his loyalty; he now attempted nothing against her person. When he entered *London*, he passed by her palace without committing any insults: and the instant he found himself deceived in his expectation of encouragement from the city, he surrendered himself, and almost without any resistance, to an officer of the Queen. He seems to have had no real hostile intention, but only, as *Burnet* says, he wanted to engage the city of *London*, to come and join with him in a petition to the Queen against the match². This rebellion (for the softer word of insurrection must not now be used,) failing of success, only strengthened that government it was designed to overthrow (p. 34). The ministry found that they might now carry on their projects; and tho’ the Queen during her late panic, in her speech to the citizens of *London*, promised that she would never marry but to the content of all

¹ *Annals*, p. 618.

² *Burnet*, v. 3, p. 224.

her subjects, yet no sooner was her fright over, than she declared publicly, that she would never marry any body but the Prince of *Spain*, let the consequence be what it would ¹.

At this distance of time Sir *Thomas Wyatt's* rising seems to have been a wild and romantic undertaking, without plan or design. It served however to promote the ends of the court; as it furnished a plausible pretence for the seizing, not only those who were actually in arms, but numbers who were suspected of disapproving the present measures; and sufficiently manifested the unmerciful and sanguinary disposition of the government. The axe and the gallows freed the Queen of her enemies and afforded constant employment for the executioner ². Now suffered (to prevent future dangers that might arise from their claim)

¹ *Ambassades de Noailles*, v. 2, p. 62:

² *Strype's Mem.* v. 3, p. 91---95. *Stowe*, p. 622---624. *Monsr. Noailles* says, there was nothing to be seen in the city but gibbets and heads upon the gates of it. *Ambassades*, v. 3, p. 83. and in other letters he mentions these cruel severities. p. 88, and 148. He likewise says, the Emperor by his Ambassador advised the Queen to suffer none of the rebels to live. p. 120. And in another letter, he says, that there were already above 400 hanged, many of them brave soldiers, besides about 50 officers and gentlemen --- different behaviour, adds he, from that of his master, the King of *France*, who in the tumult at *Bordeaux*, scorned to punish the multitude, as they did in *England*. p. 124. See also *Carte*, v. 3, p. 308.

the young lord *Guildford Dudley*, and, though no part of the late conspiracy was imputed to her (p. 36), his wife, that excellently accomplished lady, the lady *Jane Gray*, whose merit, innocence, and virtue were so conspicuous and engaging, that even Mr. P, with all his bitterness against her religion, is forced to acknowledge her extraordinary and consummate worth. The Queen, not satisfied with these executions, seemed as if she was determined to destroy all who had any claim to the crown. *Wyat* was tampered with to accuse the Princess *Elizabeth*, and every base art employed to prove her privy to his rising. *Wyat*, however, at his execution publicly declared her innocence. The ministry could not therefore for shame prosecute her for a crime of which she had been so solemnly cleared. Notwithstanding this, and tho' she earnestly applied to the Queen for a personal conference¹, she was refused it, and committed to the tower; where she was forced to submit to those continued hardships and indignities which she suffered from the unrestrained malice and tyranny of her sister².

Whilst the cruel and slaughtering work above-mentioned was going forwards, a new parliament was summoned, which, being suffi-

¹ See her letter to the Queen copied from the original in the *British Museum*, and communicated by the reverend Dr. *Birch*.

² *Carte*, v. 3, p. 306. *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 273.

ciently bribed by the Emperour and his agents, was more disposed to humour the Queen than the last; it agreed to the match, but still would not consent to the restoration of the papal supremacy. To prepare matters for the changes which were resolved on, we are told that *the Queen issued out a commission, by which all the married clergy were deprived of their benefices, as being disqualified to possess them* (p. 38). For this extraordinary assertion our learned historian, thinks himself obliged to make an apology; *as this inability, he pretendeth, was founded on the constant practice of the western church, ever since the establishment of Christianity, &c.* (p. 38, 39). And besides this, as he addeth in another place, *the example of the Apostles, and councils and canons, had made that state unlawful* (p. 58). These assertions may pass for orthodox at Rome or Tongres, but here they only subject the author to the severe censure of paying no greater regard to modesty than to truth. Vows of celibacy were not enjoined by Christ, his apostles, or by any canon in the three first centuries, nor universally practised even in the western church for some ages afterwards. In the early days of Christianity, marriage was not deemed any impediment to serving at the altar. Most of the apostles are supposed to have been married, and many accounts of married clergy are to be met with

1 Burnet, v. 2, p. 262, *Ambassades de Noailles*, v. 2. p. 273. Carte, v. 3, p. 309.

in the history of the following ages¹. The bold asserters of this untruth, the necessary celibacy of the clergy, should consider, that it is an argument less than nothing with us, to urge only the canons or inventions of men in behalf of this doctrine; they should shew the matrimonial estate of the clergy to be sinful in itself, and expressly against the laws of God, or they are only beating the air, and attempting to prove an article by arguments which will not be admitted.

Our author hath acquainted his readers with the names of those protestant bishops, who, says he, *in consequence of these orders were deprived.* (p. 39). We cannot but observe, the storm fell equally severe upon them, whether they *had broke the solemn vows made on entering on a religious state*; or whether they had made no vows at all: for *seculars* as well as *regulars* felt the rigour of them. Mr. P. hath added a note to characterize *the chief of these deposed bishops*. To wound their reputation and their cause the more, he saith, that his account of them is *as it is given by protestant historians*. Let us see then, what these historians say; and how far these unfortunate prelates deserved the cruel treatment they met with from their persecutors. Very little is recorded in history of archbishop *Holgate*. *Godwin* speaks favourably of

¹ See *Wharton* on the celibacy of the clergy, and *Bingham's* Antiquities, B. 4, c. 5, sect. 5, &c.

him ; but, we are here told, *he not only made use of the indulgent doctrine, which . . . allowed the clergy to marry, but extended the license to take another man's Wife.* Harmar¹, and from him Collier², have perpetuated this scandalous story ; they have related the charge against the archbishop, but the particular circumstances are still wanting. They only say from the council book of *Edward VI*, that such an accusation was brought against him, and that in 1551. persons were appointed to examine into the truth of this matter. But we no where find that this charge was ever proved, or that the archbishop was found guilty, or even censured for his marriage ; and since he enjoyed his archbishopric till *Edward's* death, we may charitably hope it was a groundless accusation. It was not specified in the warrant of his commitment to the Tower, nor in the commission granted to deprive him and the other bishops whom Mr. *P.* mentions, in which marrying only, contrary to the vows of chastity, is alleged against him : had the other fact been true, it would hardly have been omitted.

Bishop *Farrar* was singularly unfortunate, suffering both in this and the former reign. Fifty six articles were exhibited against him, many of them trifling, and some of them for not being zealous enough in the reformation.

¹ Specimen of errors, &c. p. 125.

² Collier, v. 2, p. 349.

To all these he gave in a full answer, nor was he condemned or found guilty of any of them. Upon the statute of premunire, and for a debt to the crown, he was thrown into prison, where he was kept till *Edward's* death. At *Mary's* accession, he was convened before bishop *Gardiner* and others, and examined, not upon the causes for which he was thrown into prison, but about his faith and doctrine, not for crimes committed by him, but for heresy¹. *Bird* and *Bush* complied with the times, and lived quietly; the former recovered his credit, was made vicar of *Dunmow* in *Essex*, and in such favor with bishop *Bonner*, that he made him his suffragan².

The protestant bishops being deprived, our historian acquaints us, *with what discernment the choice of those who were nominated to the vacant Sees were made* (p. 40), and bestoweth his commendations upon them for their *firmness* to their religion at the accession of *Queen Elizabeth*, and refusing to acknowledge *that Princess's* supremacy, forgetting surely, that most of these very bishops had complied with the times, and scrupled not to take the oath of supremacy in the reigns of *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* Some of the elder bishops had written in defense of the regal supremacy, had been active in promoting it, and had even

¹ *Fox's* Acts and Monuments, v. 3, p. 201, &c. *Strype's* Mem, v. 3, p. 254. *Life of Cranmer*, p. 184.

² *Fox*, v. 3, p. 259. *Strype's Cranmer*, p. 61, 62.

taken out commissions to hold their bishoprics from the crown. And, as all the clergy were obliged to take that oath, it is probable, that most of those bishops, who were promoted by *Mary*, had taken it before, though they refused it to her successor; who, to shew her gentleness and moderation, purposely omitted the most exceptionable part of it, the acknowledging the Prince upon the throne the supreme head of the church. And yet these conscientious prelates refused to give her this small proof of their duty, which they had repeatedly given to former Princes: such was their consistency, such *their firmness!* But which of them was banished, or burnt for this refusal? what cruel *hardships* did they suffer? We are told, that *neither loss of wealth and dignity, nor the hardships of prison and banishment, shook their firmness*: what were these sufferings of theirs, when compared with the treatment which the protestant bishops received from them? They were not satisfied, when in power, with inflicting punishments which did not affect life. The stake was the conclusion of their triumph. *The hardships of prison* “saith this zealot. Bishops
“palaces, and their tables, were dreadful
“dungeons to be sure, and as bad as those,
“into which the righteous *Bonner*, and other
“saints of the same class, used to thrust the
“poor heretics! will men never be ashamed
“of these godly tricks and disingenuous pre-
“varication’.”

1 *Fortin's life of Erasmus*, v. 1, p. 108.

Whilst

Whilst every thing was going prosperously forward in *England* to contribute to the reconciliation with the church of *Rome*, the *Legate* was still delayed abroad; the Emperor would not permit him to proceed, till his son's marriage with the *Queen* was over (p. 41); he made use, therefore, we are told, of the leisure he now had to discharge the second part of his commission (p. 42); which was to mediate a treaty of peace between the Emperor and the King of *France*; this negotiation was as unsuccessful as any he had formerly undertaken. The two Princes spoke him fair, but listened not to his overtures. This we pass by as immaterial to the affairs of *England*.

The cardinal's legantine powers come next under consideration, and deserve some attention. All the documents relating to this commission, (except the first bull which is inserted in *Harmer*¹) are given at length by *Burnet*². They fully set forth the Pope's artificial dealing in this affair. The Emperor was bent upon the match between his son and the Queen of *England*, to which he knew the affair of the church lands would be the greatest obstacle, and was therefore earnest to have it settled. The Pope was not fond of giving up this point; and sent *Pole* such powers as might seem to satisfy the persons concerned, and yet be evaded. The first bull ran

¹ Specimen of errors, p. 179.

² Hist. Ref. v. 3. Records, p. 559, &c.

only in general terms¹. The second² gave him power to agree with the possessors of ecclesiastical goods, for the profits wrongfully received, and moveable goods consumed, and to give them discharges for the same. Mr. P. says, it was left to the *Legate's determination whether restitution of the immoveable goods was to be made or not; and that he was authorized to make the owners easy as to all such matters* (p. 59). But the words of the bull itself import, that the possessors had wrongfully received the profits of those estates, and wrongfully detained them³. What seems to be left to *Pole*, is, whether he should not first insist upon their restoring these estates, before he compounded with them for the profits already received. The words are ambiguous and capable of different senses, and the Pope might interpret them as he pleased. This was the Emperor's opinion, for he objected to them and insisted upon fuller powers being granted to the *Legate*, which were at last obtained⁴. By these, says Mr. P, *the Legate was invested with the most ample power to agree and compound with the present owners; and to assure to them their possessions, on whatever title they held them; &c.* (p. 65). This

¹ Dated, August 5, 1554.

² Dated, March 8, 1554.

³ *Restitutis prius, si tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebite detentis*

⁴ By another Breve dated 28 June, 1554. *Burnet*, v. 3. Records, p. 566.

is no accurate translation of the original; this bull also affirms, that these goods were wrongfully detained, neither is there any general power given to confirm to the present possessors *all* the church lands, *but*, what Mr. P. has omitted, only to such as the Queen should intercede for, and with those only the *Legate* was impowered to agree and compound, which seems to imply some satisfaction and composition first to be made. The worst of all was the *salvo* which followed, signifying that in matters of greater moment, the Pope's consent and confirmation was necessary². Thus he left room for himself to revoke and rescind, what was done without his express consent.

When this seeming security of the church lands was settled to the Emperor's satisfaction, his son married to the Queen, and other difficulties removed, the *Legate* was allowed to proceed for *England*. To facilitate his reception, a new parliament was summoned, and writs were sent from the Queen to the sheriffs of the counties *to will and command them to chuse members of the catholic sort*³. The first bill that the two houses went

¹ --- *pro quibus ipsa serenissima Regina Maria intercesserit, de bonis per eos indebite detentis.*

² *Salvo tamen in his, in quibus propter rerum magnitudinem & gravitatem, hæc sancta sedes merito tibi videretur consulenda, nostro & præfatæ sedis beneplacito confirmatione.*

³ *Strype's Mem.* v. 3, p. 155. *Life of Cranmer*, p. 344. *Burnet*, v. 3, p. 228. *Parliamentary hist.* v. 3, p. 311.

upon,

upon, was to repeal the *Legate's* attainder. As he was upon the road the greatest expedition was necessary, else his arrival might be attended with danger; some forms were therefore dispensed with, and it passed with the utmost haste. The *Legate* being arrived at Calais, an incident (it seems) happened which was . . . interpreted as a declaration of heaven in his favour (p. 77). The reader will be astonished to hear, that this remarkable declaration of heaven was — the wind changed, and blew fair for *England*. Heaven would have declared itself much more strongly in his favour, if the life of this cardinal and his Queen had been prolonged, that they might have compleated the good work they were now beginning.

ANIMADVERSIONS

O N

SECTION THE NINTH.

BECATELLI and Dudithius having given only a short and cursory account of the *Legate's* reception in *England* and his first transactions after his arrival, Mr. P. seems now at a loss which way to turn himself: his subject required him to be particular on these topics, but his guides had deserted him; and what should he do! In this exigency he has recourse to a poor anonymous *Italian* letter which *Quirini* very kindly pointed out to him.¹ To this letter he doth indeed refer, but in such a manner as might induce us to conclude, that he uses it as his voucher for one single circumstance, rather than for a long detail of facts, filling up no less than nine pages²: No unusual artifice

¹ *Descriptio reductionis Angliæ ad Catholicam unitatem*, 1554. in *Quirini*, v. 5, p. 303, &c.

² P. 75 ---- 84.

this with Mr. *P*! For the reader's entertainment, and that he may see what sort of authorities Mr. *P*. in his necessity is content to rely on, I shall give a specimen of this letter—writer's abilities. He tells us, that on the *Legate's* arrival at *Canterbury* the archdeacon received him with an elegant and pious oration, “Thou art *Pole*, said he, who openest to us “the pole of the kingdom of heaven:” Most elegant truly! He gives another anecdote, which it is a little surprizing Mr. *P*. had not obliged us with, as it is so much in his own spirit and taste. When the bill for the re-union had been agitated in the two houses of parliament, neither of them knew any thing of the resolutions of the other. It passed the lords, and they sent to inform the commons of it: at that very juncture it passed the lower house also, and a messenger was dispatched to the lords to give them notice of it. The two messengers, prodigious! met in the way. A most evident sign this, says our letter-writer, that the spirit of God operated in both places, at the same time, and in the same manner. With the like contemptible impertinences doth the whole letter abound. But Mr. *P*. thinks that it furnishes him with materials good enough for his history: and so indeed it doth.

2 *Tu es Polus qui aperis nobis polum regni cœlorum: Aer, flumina, terra, parietes ipsi, omnia denique te desiderant. Quamdiu abfuisti, omnia fuerunt tristia, & adversa: in ad- dentu tuo omnia rident, omnia læta, omnia tranquilla.* p. 307.

The

The *Legate*, having performed the important business of reconciling the kingdom to the church of *Rome*, communicated the news to the Pope, who testified his joy upon this occasion in a very signal manner, by publishing indulgences, ordering processions, and proclaiming a jubilee, and the like. As *Pole* had appointed *St. Andrew's day*, on which this great work was completed, to be kept henceforward with peculiar solemnity (p. 84); His holiness and the good people of *Rome* expressed their grateful homage to the Saint in this pious and rational manner. "The head of *St. Andrew* was kept uncovered the whole day, that all the people might see it, visit it, and worship it as became them'."

In pity to the present deplorable situation of his countrymen, who have renounced the bishop of *Rome's* supremacy, our author, not satisfied with what he had said before upon this subject, takes now an humbler task, fights us with our own weapons, and produces what he is pleased to call *concessions on this article of the catholic faith* (p. 87, note) from witnesses, who, in this case, are above all exception (p. 84). Had he thought proper to have examined these witnesses, and inspected the places he so confidently refers to, he would never have presumed to urge the testimony of any one of them. Had he himself ever looked into any of their books, he would

x *Quirini*, v. 5, p. 323.

have found, that amongst other objections to popery, they ALL of them considered this very article, the Pope's supremacy, as one of the fundamental and most obnoxious errors of the *Romish* church. And yet they are here most injuriously represented as making *concessions* to it; — But it is by one who knows them not.

After this digression we are informed, that *the Lord Mayor and Aldermen waited on the Legate, and desired him to honour the city with his presence in that character* (p. 87). To pay the greater respect to him, the whole court attended him to *St. Paul's* upon Advent Sunday, where he went in *great state*, and the chancellor himself preached. But however acceptable the late proceedings in parliament were to the court and courtiers, the *Legate* had the mortification to find that the citizens of *London* abhorred those acts, and that he was not received with that pleasure and respect he wished. “The Legate” (as Mr. *Strype* tells us from a spectator of this pompous procession) “rode blessing the
“people as he went; for which he was great-
“ly laughed to scorn. For few of the people
“had now any good conceit of the Pope, or
“his creature's blessings. Nor did they put
“off their caps, and make courtesy to the
“cross, neither was there scarce any expres-
“sion of joy at the sight of the King and
“Queen: none saying, *God save them*. The
“bishop of *Winchester* was sore offended at
“this”;”

“ this¹;” and threatened the people hard for their disrespectful behaviour. It appears also from the same historian, that the kingdom in general took such little satisfaction in this reconciliation with the Pope, that the Queen found herself obliged to write circular letters to the sheriffs to order rejoicings upon this occasion: the people not being forward of themselves to make any outward signification of their joy².

Whilst the people was amused with these shews, the feint of the Queen's pregnancy was kept up. Sometime after, an act of parliament passed appointing King *Philip* guardian and governour of the kingdom during the minority of the child, if the Queen should die³. To flatter her and themselves, the council ordered *Te Deum* to be said, and thanksgivings were made throughout the diocess of *London* for the Queen's pregnancy, and also prayers for her safe deliverance, and for the perfections of the child, that it might be well favoured, witty, and a male⁴. This farce did not convince the nation. Mr. *Noailles* has taken notice of a very severe libel, which was stuck up at the Queen's palace, signifying the improbability of her pregnancy, and praying

¹ *Strype's Mem.* v. 3, p. 168.

² *Strype*, p. 167.

³ *Strype's Mem.* v. 3, p. 164. *Parliam. hist.* v. 3, p. 336. *Fox*, v. 3, p. 114. *Carte*, v. 3, p. 315.

⁴ *Strype Mem.* p. 3, p. 204. *Fox*, v. 3, p. 115. *Ambassades de Noailles*, v. 4, p. 29. *Carte*, v. 3, p. 313 and 317. *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 312.

that God would preserve the succession to the right heir¹.

The recital of the long act of parliament, which repealed all the late statutes against the papal authority, hath led our writer once more to enter upon the subject of the security of the church lands to the lay proprietors. What sort of a security this would have proved had it rested upon no surer foundation than the Pope's concession, is most evident: for tho' he did indeed agree thereto, yet it was with great reluctance; and tho' he sent bulls to his Legate for that purpose, yet they were loaded with such *salvos* as plainly intimated his intentions of evading them. He often expressed his disapprobation of it, and was still in hopes that the usurpers of the church's patrimony would have the conscience to restore it², or that it might some time or other be wrested out of their hands. Besides, many succeeding Popes have set forth contrary bulls, and have annulled all such alienations. In the present *epoch*, the late Pope Clement XI, following the example of some of his predecessors, gave a flagrant instance, that no declaration or engagement, however formal, is binding, when heretics are at all concerned.

¹ *Serons --- nous si bestes, O nobles Anglois, que de croire nostre royne estre enceinte; Et de quoy le seroit --- elle, sinon d'un marmot ou d'un digne? Ambassades de Noailles, v. 4. p. 26.*

² *Quirini, v. 5, p. 107. in a letter from cardinal Morone to Pole, dated 1556.*

For in a bull of his addressed in 1712 to the King of the *Romans*, his Holiness “cancels
 “all promises and oaths made in favour of
 “protestants; declaring them null and void,
 “whenever they are prejudicial in any man-
 “ner to the catholic faith, the salvation of
 “souls, or to any rights of the church what-
 “soever; even though such engagements have
 “been often ratified and confirmed.” So
 that, what one Pope solemnly confirms ano-
 ther can as solemnly rescind, and both claim
 an equal plenitude of authority. If there-
 fore the papal dispensation be all the assu-
 rance the lay possessors of the church lands
 have for their security, it is none at all. Any
 future infallible head of the church (should
 opportunity offer) may allege some pretence
 or other for the resumption of what was un-
 alienably annexed to the church, as *consecra-*
tions made to the supreme Being, of a real and
perpetual nature; and as it were vested in him,
and not to be taken back without his consent,
signified by those he hath appointed interpreters
of his will and delegates of his power. (1st pt.
 p. 218.)

The Legate, says our author, *had accom-*
plished a work, which required a zeal and abi-
lities as enlightened and extensive as his: and
now a foreign great exigence called him forth,
in which, if he had not the success he met with
in his own country, his integrity and talents

1 Clem. xi. P. Max. Ep. Brevia, v. 2, p. 179.

for negotiation appeared to no less advantage and were acknowledged with equal applause (p. 107). This great exigence was a treaty of peace, which the Legate, the lord chancellor *Gardiner*, the lords *Paget* and *Arundel*, were to mediate between *France* and the Emperor. Mr. *P.* here tells us how high an opinion *Noailles* the French ambassador had of his hero's political talents. That minister doth indeed speak very respectfully of *Pole* in many of his letters. But when the cardinal appeared at the congress, *Noailles* soon found *Gardiner's* observation to be true, that his abilities were not answerable to such an undertaking. He says that the *Legate* was only a cipher¹, and that he dared not to propose any thing till the other commissioners gave him leave². This treaty was soon broken off, but afterwards was renewed in *London*: and the ambassador is again so far from speaking of the *Legate's* political talents with applause, that he complains greatly of his timidity, and caution, of his want of vigour, execution and abilities to conduct such negotiations³. He does indeed, as Mr. *P.* says, *elsewhere speak in the most honourable manner of him* (p. 112); and rejoiced at his being in the ministry; with great reason truly, for it clearly appears, that he had procured *Parpalia*, the abbot of

¹ *Ambassades de Noailles*, v. 4, p. 326.

² *Le Meme*, v. 4, p. 355.

³ *Le Meme*, v. 5, p. 235, 236. 286.

San Salute, to be a spy upon him, from whom he had clear intelligence and full information of all his master's actions, and the secret intrigues of state¹.

Though the Legate had great influence with the Queen, yet *Gardiner* the chancellor was in many instances a check upon him. This of course created a jealousy between them: upon *Gardiner's* death the *Legate* had no rival. So memorable a personage as this prelate was must not be passed by unnoticed. He was a man of great political craft, and, in that respect, the ablest statesman the Queen had. He had prevented her from taking many disgraceful and offensive steps. Knowing the temper of the nation, he opposed both the *Spanish* match and the *Legate's* powers; but the Queen's violence obliged him to yeild. However as much as laws could bind, he prevented *Philip* from reaping those advantages from the marriage, which the intrigues of his father and the Queen's passion would otherwise have procured him; neither would he permit the Legate to exercise any powers without a commission under the great seal. The writers of the *Biographia Britannica* have taken great pains to blanch this prelate's character. From them hath Mr. P. drawn his account, and referreth to them. They do indeed speak favourably of *Gardiner*, and at-

¹ *Le Meme*, v. 5, p. 139. 165. 289, &c.

tempt to clear him of being the author of the cruelties exercised in *Mary's* reign, by — laying the blame of them chiefly upon *Pole*. He was, in fact, a persecutor of the protestants, and in his examination of them often grossly rude and insolent; but growing weary at last of the drudgery, he gave over condemning and burning. That odious employment he left to the more zealous and impetuous *Bonner*, and betook himself to the management of the state, at a time when a good head joined to a bad heart might exert itself to the best advantage.

One of the first acts of *Pole's* legantine authority was to grant commissions for the prosecution of heretics. Soon after others were issued out to the bishops and officials of the vacant Sees to reconcile and absolve both clergy and laity. But to these were tacked some instructions, which shew, that notwithstanding the good opinion some of our historians have entertained of *Pole*, he brought with him the spirit of an inquisitor. For by them the ordinaries were authorized to proceed against and to punish heretics and scismatics; and, that such might be effectually discovered, they were required to register the names and respective parishes of every one who had been formally reconciled to the church; and all others were to be summoned to appear at the next visitation, and to be proceeded against as obstinate offenders. Thus early did the cardinal put the bishops upon executing the fan-

sanguinary laws lately revived'. We cannot but observe with what candor our Biographer draws a veil over that persecuting disposition which these *documents* (had they been laid before the reader) would have betrayed in his hero. He very honestly removes them out of sight, and hastily flurs them over in that heap of insignificant *regulations* which *throw no further light on the character of Pole, or on the state of the nation as it stood related to him* (p. 142). He rather chuses to amuse his readers for several pages together with the *Legate's* speculative plan of reformation, in those *synodical decrees* proposed by him to the convocation, which were to establish the *Romish* faith and ritual. But as they contain nothing new of doctrine or discipline, we will pass them by, as not worth any consideration; only remarking, that Mr. P. hath misrepresented, and, as usual, softened every circumstance which might be offensive to a protestant ear.

When these decrees were agreed to by the convocation, the *Legate* sent an abstract or summary of them to *Rome* for the Pope's approbation. Cardinal *Morone* was ordered to tell him, that his Holiness was much pleased with the summary transmitted to him, and waited for the decrees in form, when he would confirm every part of them that should appear

x *Strype's Cranmer*, p. 346. Appendix, p. 191.

right and proper. And then, to match one reformation with another, he informs the Legate, that 150 common strumpets had been reformed by the preaching of one friar, which was, says he, a most surprizing miracle indeed !

I Quirini, v. 5, p. 100 --- 102.

SECTION THE TENTH

THE great share which archbishop Cranmer had in forwarding the reformation in England, has rendered him the object of Mr. P.'s particular animosity. The account he hath given of this excellent prelate is one continued bitter invective, a collection of every scandal which falshood, cruelty, and malice have invented to defame him. That he had his failings, we deny not; that they are here exaggerated and misrepresented, will appear; if, (as our writer has desired us in behalf of bishop Gardiner) we neither form our opinion of him from eulogy or invective, but from facts, and take into the estimate the various temper of the reigns he lived in (p. 120). The first charge against him is, that he had been one of the chief promoters of Henry's separation from Catherine of Arragon, . . . and had, moreover, pronounced the sentence of the divorce (p. 142). But why this offence should be peculiar

ANIMADVERSIONS

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pecu-

peculiarly charged on *Cranmer*, or why it should have stirred up the resentment of the Queen against him only, whilst others who were equally concerned with him were high in her favour, I leave it to Mr. *P.* to account for. He tells us, it was *to avenge the wrongs done to the religion the professed* (p. 146). Probably enough; as the same zeal for the same religion has prompted him to persecute this prelate's memory, and to load him with the most virulent calumnies.

An impartial relater of facts would not have omitted the great obligations the Queen had received from *Cranmer*: her contumacious behaviour in her father's reign had well nigh endangered her life, and it was his intercession alone, that softened the King, and diverted his anger¹. A candid historian also, when he told the public that *Cranmer subscribed to the change of the settlement made in Edward's reign*, would have declared the opposition he made to it in council, and the reluctance with which he signed it at last; which sufficiently testified it was neither his proposal nor agreeable to his sentiments, but that he was overcome by the persuasions and example of the rest of his counsellors, and the importunity of *Edward* himself. *These misdemeanors*, our author says, *he had aggravated by spreading seditious libels, and raising*

¹ *Strype's Mem. of Cranmer*, p. 431. *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 241. *Hume's Indors.* v. 1, p. 354.

tumults. What libels did he spread? what tumults did he raise? At the Queen's accession he kept himself quiet. The brutal *Bonner* himself said, Mr. *Canterbury* is become very humble. This quiet behaviour of his was laid hold of by his enemies, and he was aspersed as if he had restored the mass. It was, I suppose, the answer the archbishop had prepared to this infamous lie, in which he offered to justify King *Edward's* liturgy, and to prove that the mass had no foundation in SS, but was contrary to the same, which Mr. *P.* insolently termeth *a seditious libel*. But there could be nothing in this paper treasonable or seditious, because the mass was at that very time contrary to the laws of the land. How far from raising tumults *Cranmer* was, may appear from his submitting quietly to the Queen's authority, and that his name *was at the head* of the letter which recognized her title, and ordered the duke of *Northumberland* to lay down his arms. So far was he from persevering to oppose the Queen, that he confessed his offence in consenting to the late King's will, and implored her mercy. She herself, with *all the resentments of a woman*, was sensible, that she could not with any decency forgive the rest of the late King's council, and take away the life of him who was the least culpable of any of them: she therefore pardoned him the treason, but detained him in prison for heresy.

The portraiture, which our author hath exhibited of this eminent prelate, is not drawn from the original; but from the distorted copies which he found of it in the bishop of *Meaux*¹ and Mr. *Dod's* histories²: from them hath he extracted his materials, from them is his bitterness derived. The charges which he brings against the archbishop, though most ungenerously aggravated, and drawn out into a long detail, may be reduced to these two articles, hypocrisy and servility. At *Cranmer's* consecration to the See of *Canterbury*, his accuser says, *he retired into a private place, and entered a protest against the oath he was going to take, (of obedience to the See of Rome,) and then took it* (p. 154). The plain truth of the case is this: having scruples concerning the legality of that oath, he communicated them to the best canonists and civilians, who suggested the expedient he made use of; by their advice he protested against it, not in *a private place*, but publicly, at three several times, and before several witnesses; first in the chapter house of the church in which he was to be consecrated; secondly, at the high altar before his consecrators; and lastly, when he received his pall; declaring solemnly each time, that his *oath of obedience to the See of Rome* should not be binding in any thing that was contrary to the laws of God, the prero-

¹ *Historie des Variations, &c.* v. 1, p. 283, &c.

² *Church hist.* v. 1, p. 370 --- 373.

gative of the King, and the statutes of the realm; or in matters relative to the reformation of religion, and government of the church of *England*¹. Instruments were made, at his own request, recording these repeated protestations. This was acting fairly, and signifying, in the most public manner, in what sense and with what limitations he took this oath; and if it be said, that there was *something of infirmity* in this proceeding, there was also something of great openness and sincerity in it.

In consequence of this abandoned turn of mind, says Mr. P, he subscribed to the six famous articles, &c. (p. 154). This impudent falsehood can proceed only from an utter abhorrence of candour and truth. Mr. P. might have known, that subscription to these articles was never enjoined at all; he could not but know (for every history of that transaction asserts it) that the archbishop opposed them in the parliament house with the utmost firmness and resolution.

¹ *Strype's Mem. of Cranmer, p. 20. Appendix, p. 9. Fox's acts and monuments, v. 3, p. 661. Fuller's church hist. B. 5, p. 186.* We are told by Mr. P, that this last cited author *is at a loss how to defend Cranmer against the articles which the celebrated Mr. Prynne, one of the sounder few of our writers, lays to his charge (note, p. 158).* If our biographer had but consulted these writers himself, he would hardly have ventured to refer to them: and would have been ashamed of relying so simplistically upon Mr. Dod's partial representation. See his church hist. v. 1, p. 373. See also Prynne's antipathy of prelacy and monarchy. p. 131.

The bill was a favorite one of the King's, and he was determined to have it passed; he therefore desired *Cranmer* to go out of the house, and not vote at all, if he could not give his assent to it. But he absolutely refused to act in so disingenuous a manner, and notwithstanding the danger he was in of incurring the royal displeasure, he persevered in his opposition to the bill: he spoke against it repeatedly during the three days the debate lasted, and to the end he voted and protested against it'. What now must we think of the man who can pronounce in the true spirit of *Sanders*, that *Cranmer* subscribed to the six famous articles? *The abandoned turn of mind* that suggested this base calumny will, I doubt not, be detested by every reader of common honesty.

Thus much for the charge of hypocrisy. His servility furnishes the next accusation against him. *There was no abject compliance, . . . to which he did not let himself down, to flatter the passions of Henry VIII, and secure his own credit* (p. 154). The following particulars, besides the above mentioned, will demonstrate the malice and falsehood of this bold assertion. The archbishop, as hath been before observed, saved *Mary's* life by a seasonable application to her irritated father. He interceded for Sir *Thomas More* and bishop *Fisher*, when they were

¹ *Strype's life of Cranmer*, p. 73. *Burnet*, v. 1, p. 257.
258. *Fox*, v. 2, p. 443 and p. 498.

condemned to death for refusing to own the King's supremacy. He wrote to the King in favour of *Anne Bullen* and *Cromwell*, when they lay under condemnation, and their destruction was resolved on. He would not join or be concerned in the attainder of the duke of *Norfolk*, though his enemy. In *Edward's* reign he protested against the dissolution and alienation of the chantery lands. He made warm remonstrances to the protector against the embezzlement of the church revenues, and when that great man was afterwards in disgrace, he alone had the courage not to desert him. He opposed the duke of *Northumberland* during his whole administration. When bishop *Tonstall* was attainted for misprision of treason, *Cranmer* not only spoke warmly in his defence, but protested against the bill. These are facts which speak for themselves, and will place his character in a very advantageous light, and will vindicate him from the shameful misrepresentations of those, who seem as much strangers to the virtues which adorned his mind, as they are to his real character.

If ever any man deserved the good word of his enemies, it was the amiable *Cranmer*; great learning, great probity, great candour, joined with sweetness of temper, ingenuity of disposition, elegance of manners, and *all the milder merit of the heart*, procured him the love and respect of his contemporaries. His conscience was upright, his mind enlightened, his

motives sincere and manifest, and his life regular and unblameable. These were the virtues which distinguished *Cranmer*, and which secured him in *Henry's* life-time from the storms of that impetuous monarch. He knew, whenever *Cranmer* was accused, his sincerity would declare without reserve the whole truth. And that Prince, whose caprice made him ready to give up every favorite, was so assured of the simplicity, integrity and honesty of *Cranmer's* heart, that he would listen to no insinuations against him, till he had talked with him himself. His artless freedom convinced the King, that his intentions were ever most upright, his actions most disinterested, and his benevolence most warm and extensive. By this guileless behaviour *Cranmer* enjoyed the love and veneration of *Henry*: of which, however, he made no other use but to do acts of kindness and lenity to his enemies, and to mollify his sovereign's passions. He who can say false and severe things of such a man *must be a stranger to the feelings of justice, humanity and religion* (1st pt. pag. 430.)

The brutal enemies of *Cranmer* were from the beginning determined to make him the object of their peculiar severity. Their cruel treatment, their iniquitous proceedings, their perfidious dissimulation were such and so great, as must shock every humane and tender heart. The venerable Primate was cast into prison immediately upon the Queen's accession, and he

he who had been ever remarkable for mildness and humanity, received from the barbarians, in whose power he was, nothing but outrageous mockery and insult. At his first imprisonment his revenues were sequestered, and the malice of his persecutors, not content with reducing him to absolute beggary, would not even allow others to relieve his necessities¹. To omit the hardships of prison, the tumult of the *disputation at Oxford*, and other circumstances of equal cruelty; let us attend to the inhuman behaviour of his tormentors at the close of his life, when his execution was absolutely fixed. Commissioners were sent to *Oxford* to examine him: they cited him to appear at *Rome*, and there answer for himself in person. To prevent his obeying that summons, they detained him in prison, and yet pronounced him contumacious for not going². This was not all; bigotry may excuse this proceeding, however absurd and ridiculous, as consistent with forms of law. These detestable miscreants (they deserve no better name) who had been long contriving to shake the Primate's firmness, having found him unterrified by threats and unmoved by danger, took another method. They assaulted the good old man with the pleasures of life; they removed him from the mortified restraints of his prison to the elegant hospitality of the

¹ *Strype's Cranmer*, p. 450.

² *Id.* p. 374. *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 332, v. 3, p. 249.

deanery at Christ church ; they flattered, they cajoled, they made him chearful, and, taking advantage of his flow of spirits, they plied their infernal artillery against him ; they mollified him by the pleasing arguments of health, of affluence, of station ; they told him of the Queen's personal esteem and regard for him ; and reminded him of the respect, the love, and the attention paid him when in power. In an unguarded moment the tempters prevailed, and *Cranmer* gave up his religion. When this triumph over humanity was completed, how did these Saints act ? His destruction was determined : but this the hypocrites kept in profound secrecy, lest a suspicion of their hellish designs might give the alarm to his conscience, and induce him to retract the recantation which their execrable artifices had drawn from him. He was therefore kept in total ignorance of his approaching execution till he was actually led to it. But by the grace of God he recovered himself, and gave such public proof of unfeigned contrition and invincible firmness of mind as retrieved his character, confounded his relentless adversaries, and left a lasting stain upon those zealots who took such wicked and abominable methods to execute their vengeance. *Cranmer's* victory over those diabolical agents, who thus plotted his eternal destruction, is recorded by us with the highest pleasure.

To the many base tormentors of the afflicted Primate we must add the *Legate* himself, who pestered him with two such prolix and tedious letters as will ever be urged against the lenity, the ability, and the religion of *Pole* himself. One of them is preserved by *Strype*¹, and may easily be met with; the other, which attempts to defend the real presence, is not so well known. I shall therefore give a short account of it. *Le Grand* acknowledges that it favours of the disclaimer², which in truth it doth in a very eminent degree; and is at the same time as void of argument, as it is of common humanity. Mr. *P.* however compliments it with the title of *one of the most compleat pieces of controversy that was ever penned on that characteristic article of the catholic religion.* (pag. 147.)

After an insolent apology for his entering into communication with so vile a man, and assuring him, that, was he to listen to the movements of his own nature, he should rather call upon God for fire from heaven to consume him; he proceeds, in christian charity, to load the unfortunate prelate with the most envenomed and illiberal scurrilities; charging him with hypocrisy, pride, impiety, and repeated perjuries; with abandoning himself to gross impurities and shameful passions;

¹ Life of *Cranmer*. Appendix, p. 206.

² *Histoire du divorce*, &c. v. 1, p. 259.

with mocking God, trampling on the laws, and seducing the king, to whom, he tells him, he had been subservient in his foulest debaucheries; and, what is most notoriously false, with the guilt of the blood shed during that reign; for all which, says the mild and gentle *Legate*, was I at liberty, I would put up my cries to heaven to take vengeance upon you. But in compassion to his precious soul (as he was now a prisoner, and soon to suffer extream Punishment) he will spare his imprecations, and lay before him the things he had done, solely with the hopes of leading him to repentance: though after all he despairs of success, since God had most surely abandoned and given him over to a reprobate mind; for nothing less than this could account for his having dared to combat a tradition of holy church. — With the like impertinent rant, and cruel, unmannerly insults a considerable part of this letter is filled.

His arguments in defence of transubstantiation are beyond expression weak and futile, his reasoning illogical, and his quotations from S.S. most commonly distorted and misapplied: and *this compleat piece of controversy* is, upon the whole, a very poor defence of a very bad cause. Its weakness, however, might be passed by with contempt; but the malice that runs throughout it, from one end to the other, is really shocking. What abominable words are these, “for an absolutely certainty
“you are not actuated by the heavenly father,
“but

“but by the prince of hell; and the whole
 “course of your conduct hath made it evi-
 “dent that God hath rejected you.” Could
 any man use such language to another whom
 he had a serious desire of converting? Could
 the spirit of charity dictate to him a strain
 against, I will not say, a good, a learned
 man, a prelate, whose destruction was at
 this juncture resolved on and determined, but
 against the meanest and worst of his fellow-
 creatures? Indeed the whole tenour of the
 letter breaths nothing but insolence and inve-
 terate rancour, notwithstanding its impudent
 and hypocritical pretences, that it aims only at
 the salvation of his soul’.

In truth, I cannot but look upon it as no
 small part of *Cranmer’s* sufferings to be thus
 teized in his last hours with such confused,
 impotent, scurrilous, despicable railing. Had
 Mr. *P.* consulted *Pole’s* honour, he would
 have been so far from speaking of this vile
 performance of his in those high terms, and
 thereby exciting the curiosity of his readers
 to peruse it, that he would have passed it by
 in total silence: which indeed would have
 been more to the credit both of his hero and
 himself.

In the former part of his work our au-
 thor harangued learnedly and laboriously a-

¹ See *Le Grand’s* French translation of this letter. *His-
 toire du divorce*, v. 1, p. 289. *Quirini*, v. 5, p. 238. *Bur-
 net*, v. 3, p. 244.

gainst intolerant principles : *the lenity of the gospel spirit* (p. 234), *Pole's mildness in his government of the patrimony* (p. 303), served him to discourse upon the *self-evidence of such equitable sentiments* (p. 301). But now the times are altered, Mr. P's friends are at the helm. *Those inhuman edicts*, which discovered the *frantic tyranny of Henry*, and the *slavish disposition of the parliament* (p. 264), and which Edward's laws had repealed, are now revived. *The errors which sprang up against the ancient faith of the church* (p. 159), the many *broachers of false doctrine*, the *preservation and peace of the state* (p. 159), will now, it seems, fully justify a *severity which*, himself tells us, *former times could not bear*, and with which it were to be wished *the lenity of the gospel spirit had caused all times and all countries to have been for ever unacquainted* (1st pt. p. 234). Thus can our writer, *Proteus like*, put on all appearances (p. 157), and vindicate or condemn persecution just as is most convenient to the exigences of his own friends, who are to be treated with toleration and indulgence till they can prevail ; and then persecution, as a necessary discipline, is to be inflicted by them upon their seditious and heretical opponents.

This is the turn Mr. P. gives to the horrid executions which stained the reign of *Mary* with so much blood, and have rendered her odious to all posterity. *The provocations, the treasonable practises, and indignities offered to the government,*
the

the religion, and the person of the Queen (p. 160) are urged in mitigation of the severities which followed. Without entering into a minute examination of each particular fact, we will just point out some of Mr. P's glaring misrepresentations. He asserts that *two years of the Queen's reign had passed without any thing which had the air of persecution on account of religion*. Immediately upon her accession, and even before her coronation, the prisons were filled with great numbers taken up on the score of religion only¹. And was the deprivation of the married clergy (by order from the Queen herself, in the first year of her reign), notwithstanding the laws were yet in force that allowed their marriage, nothing *which had the air of persecution*²?

In that strange group of *provocations* (p. 161), which Mr. P. found collected together by Mr. Dod³, there are some offences against the state invidiously charged upon the protestants, of which however they were no ways guilty. But admitting their guilt and the justice of their punishment, will this justify the cruelties exercised on those who were confessedly innocent, who lived peaceably, and in humble duty to the state? We tax not the Queen and her ministry with severities to rebels and traitors, to those who insulted her person or affronted her religion.

¹ *Strype's Mem.* v. 3, p. 59, &c.

² *Id ib.* p. 108. *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 276.

³ *Church Hist.* v. 1, p. 460, 461.

We complain not of the death of *Northumberland*, of *Suffolk*, of *Wyat*, or of the execution of the Lady *Jane Grey* and her husband. These all had been engaged in open rebellion. But wherein had they offended, whom the wanton barbarity of bigots and persecutors hunted out of their caves. They had broken no laws. They were not even
 “convinced for teaching, or dogmatizing,
 “contrary to the established religion: they
 “were seized merely on suspicion; and arti-
 “cles being offered them to subscribe, they
 “were immediately upon their refusal con-
 “demned to the flames’.”

Amongst other instances of indiscreet zeal, our author produces the following. *When public prayers were ordered on a supposition of the Queen's pregnancy, a reformed clergyman made use of this form, that it would please God either to turn her heart from idolatry, or to shorten her days; and that when several who met at this assembly were taken up, bishop Hooper comforted them by letter as suffering saints* (p. 161). The clergyman, whose name was *Rose*, himself tells us, that he was taken up and accused before the bishop of *Winchester* of having made such a prayer, not in this but the last reign; but that he vindicated himself so thoroughly, that in his subsequent examinations it was not once objected to him, and he was soon discharged². The letter which

¹ *Hume's Tudors*, v. 1, p. 380. *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 304.

² See his story in *Fox*, v. 3, p. 934.

Hooper

Hooper sent to those, who were taken up with the clergyman for the above offence, was to encourage them to suffer patiently: he tells them, the word of God commands all men to pray for them that hate them, and not to revile any magistrate with words, or to mean them evil by force and violence¹. We hope, Mr. P. will find no fault with this doctrine.

Our author, having endeavoured to palliate these cruelties, tries also to exculpate the *Legate* from having had any share in them. That *Pole's* natural temper might be averse to sanguinary proceedings, that these violent measures were chiefly promoted by others, and that he shewed some instances of clemency and compassion, is not to be denied; but it doth not appear that he dissuaded the court from these cruelties, or exerted his influence to prevent them. The instance which is here pitched upon to shew his clemency, is his christian condescension in reclaiming Sir John Cheke (p. 164). Whatever Mr. P. may think of this condescension of the Legate, the proceedings against Sir John Cheke reflect ignominy on all concerned in that transaction. It was not *Pole*, but *Feckenham* abbot of *Westminster* who, reclaimed him²; and this he did

1. *Id. ib.* p. 116. See also *Strype's* history, v. 1, p. 325.

2. *Strype's* life of *Cheke*, p. 142. The Lord Priuli also says the same in a letter to *Beccatelli*. *Quirini*, v. 5. p. 346:

chiefly

chiefly by the dreadful alternative, turn or burn. The usage he received from *Pole* was cruelly mean. The penitent heretic, when brought before him by his *reclaimer*, made an acknowledgment of his errors, and earnestly intreated him to be satisfied with this declaration, and to have so much compassion on his frailty, as to spare him the ignominy of a public recantation. Such a convert was not to be made without an open triumph. He was baited, as poor *Cranmer* had been, with recantation upon recantation. The hard-hearted *Legate*, not content with one made to himself, imposed upon him the severe penance of making another in the presence of the Queen. This too did not satisfy the zeal of his persecutors: they compelled him to go through the farther drudgery of pronouncing a third before the whole court; which, from its verbose prolixity, is commonly supposed to have been penned by *Pole* himself. And besides all this, he was to submit to whatsoever penances should be enjoined him. Such was the clemency and christian condescension which *Pole* shewed to Sir *John Cheke*. He made a wise and a worthy man miserable and wretched; he brought him down in the meridian of life with shame and sorrow to the grave. By this ungenerous, spiritual tyranny the unfortunate *Cheke* lost his quiet and peace of mind, and died soon after heart-broken with grief and remorse.

¹ *Strype's life of Cheke*, p. 145 ---- 169. *Mem.* v. 3. p. 315, 316. *Biog. Brit.* b. 2^d. Article *Cheke*. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 316.

Our author, still desirous to give his readers a favourable opinion of the *Legate's* leni-ty, says in another place: *though he was at the head of the council, . . . he frequently differed from the generality of those who composed it ; . . . but he referred every thing to the majority ; . . . He suffered rigours to be exercised which were no less contrary to his judgment than inclination ; . . . and this, it seems, was the result of his deference to the laws and constitutions of his country, &c.* (p. 232). A dexterous apologist this truly ! who endeavours to acquit his hero of cruelty, at the expence of his prudence, his courage, his honesty. Shall *the head of the council*, shall the Pope's *Legate*, shall the patriot *Pole* (p. 230), who was not only an ornament to his country, but an honour to human nature (pref. p. viii), suffer rigours to be exercised contrary both to his judgment and inclination ? Nay, shall he himself issue out commissions (p. 164) for exercising such rigours ; and can he stand acquitted of the charge of weakness, pusillanimity, and acting contrary to the dictates of his conscience ? As to the laws and constitutions of his country, he found at his arrival here no law subsisting for burning heretics. The laws, which were revived for this cruel purpose, may be partly ascribed to his instigation, and their rigours began and ended with him. It was not then the constitution of his country, but the constitution, of popery, which drove the mild *Legate* to these violent measures.

But,

Mem. v. 3. — 169. p. 142. *Life of Charles*.
 Brit. p. 216. *Article Charles*.
 v. 3. p. 216.

But, it seems, he adopted *Pagan* rather than christian *learning*, and comforted himself by *distinguishing between bearing what he could not help, and approving what he ought to condemn* (p. 232). Is Mr. P. the *Legate's* friend, and is he not aware how little all this tends to the vindication of his hero's honour and probity? But to proceed.

The *sanguinary and compulsive measures* which were now employed in *establishing the catholic cause, or redressing the injuries done to it* (1st. pt. p. 235), perplex our author greatly: he had before frequently signified his *aversion* to them all; his art and address must therefore be applied to palliate and defend them. It is difficult (says he) to determine *who were the most active in carrying on prosecutions of this kind* (p. 165). The *Legate* was inclined to clemency — as we have seen. — *The greater number of the bishops were men of great moderation, &c;* and yet there were some heretics burnt in most of the dioceses in *England*¹. Few acts of cruelty were done by the *Queen* (p. 210), that is to say, she burnt no one her self: but she was continually issuing out commissions and letters to others for that purpose. Who then was the author of all these cruelties? — *Some leading persons about the court seem to have countenanced them* (p. 165).

¹ *Heylin*, p. 56. *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* b. 8. p. 16 --- 21.
Strype's Mem. v. 3. *Records*, p. 291.

They

They were such as had changed with every wind, and who knew how agreeable those measures were to the head of the council and to all in power.

Something, likewise, must be given to the temper of the times; which, however, neither began with this Princess nor ended with her (p. 116). The same temper of the times, I suppose, produced soon after the massacre of Paris. If for times Mr. P. had said Popery, he had spoke the truth; for persecution and cruelty have ever been the characteric of that religion. But did this temper of the times produce the same effect in the days of *Edward* and *Elizabeth*? In the former of these reigns, through the remaining tincture of popish principles not entirely eradicated, and by an unpardonable severity, two persons were served after the old manner of convincing heretics: but neither of them were members of the *Romish* church. When *Elizabeth* came to the throne, all the sanguinary laws were repealed; none were questioned, not even bloody *Bonner*, for the cruelties of the former reign; none required to abjure their religion under the penalty of death. The oath of supremacy to the Queen was indeed required, but the refusal of it was attended only with loss of office and promotion. The maintainers of the papal supremacy were, but not till after the third offence, punishable with death. And they were not prosecuted for their religion (which they were permitted

ted to enjoy, if they would live peaceably and quietly,) but for treason and felony; they were not put to death by the spiritual authority, but were tried in the same legal manner with other offenders against the state, in the civil courts, and by their country. They who suffered, suffered for their conspiracies, seditions, and actual attempts against the life of the Queen, for denying her title to the crown, and maintaining the Pope's power of deposing her'. So that Mr. Collier himself owns, "when
 "men declared thus openly against the go-
 "vernment, 'tis no wonder if they drew a
 "storm upon themselves'." Whereas the sufferers under *Mary* were loyal, innocent and peaceable persons, and could offend none but bigots and inquisitors who delighted in blood. Such was the difference between the provocations offered to the government in these two reigns. Mr. P. indeed has the audacity to compare them together, and ridicules the censures passed on the *bloody reign of Queen Mary as the dismal ditties of the Nursery and the threadbare ballads of antiquity*. It is hard to say, whether such language deserves more our pity or our contempt. This is his method of extenuating the cruelties of bigotry and superstition. This the *manner in which*

1 *Cambden's Elizabeth*, 3^d ed. fol. 1675, p. 244. 270. 270. 306. 483, &c. See also *Walsingham's* letter to Mons^r Critoy in *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 418. *Foulis's Romish treasons*, &c. p. 61, &c. *Strype's hist.* v. 3, p. 249. 412.

2 *Collier*, v. 2, p. 571.

he chuses to treat this subject, so as to cover
 beats, not spread and perpetuate them (166).

Our author has not yet done justifying these
 persecutions, but proceeds, as he calls it, to
elucidate the state of the question. These laws
were enacted in former reigns, and renewed in
this on occasion of open rebellion against the go-
vernment, &c. (p. 166). What rebellion? I
 know of none but *Wyat's*, and that was to
 prevent the *Spanish match*; it was soon quell-
 ed, and all remained quiet. *This caused the*
legislature to consider heresy not only as a grie-
vous sin against Almighty God, but as a hei-
nous crime against the state. There is nothing
 in the doctrine of the protestants that can
 any way affect the state. Obedience to the
 King, as supreme, was the doctrine of the
 protestants then, and is the doctrine of the
 church of *England* now. If any protestants
 at that time were guilty of rebellion or trea-
 son, they were justly punishable for it: it
 was their personal crime, and contrary to their
 religious principles. But can this justify the
 committing innocent persons to the flames, a
 more cruel punishment than the laws inflict
 even on traitors and rebels? But . . . these
statutes are laws of the English realm, not canons
of the catholic church, and make no part either
of her faith or discipline. — Her punishments
extend no further than the spiritual state of the
offender . . . she is not accountable for laws
which she did not establish, and leaves their exe-
cution to whom it belongs (p. 167). Who can

read such shameless evasions without indignation? *Is it not* (to retort upon our author the censure he hath passed upon bishop Burnet) *the highest insult on the sense and morals of his readers, to suppose them susceptible of so gross an imposition. — As for himself, he must have drank to the dregs of that intoxicating cup with which the lying prophets are drenched, to give out such absurdities, and expect they should be credited* (p. 158). It is the ecclesiastical judge who pronounces the sentence: the civil magistrates are only the executioners of it, and compelled to the cruel task upon pain of excommunication and other censures. It is therefore the act of the church alone, and enforced upon the civil officers with a dreadful sanction. If her power extends not to mutilation, or taking away the life of the delinquent (p. 167), why are not offenders tried in the civil as well as ecclesiastical courts? why does not the civil magistrate confirm the sentence of the church, or hear the cause afresh? So far from that, *the delinquents* are never brought before the temporal courts, but carried to the stake without any further citation or hearing. But, says Mr. P, *the proceedings of the spiritual court are always concluded with an intercession to the civil magistrate* in behalf of the con-

I --- *sine aliqua processuum visione, sententias latas prompte exequantur, sub excommunicationis pœna, aliisque censuris. Innocent. 8. Constit. 10. Bullar. Rom. tom. 1, p. 337. cited in Barlow's observations on Pope Pius V. Bull against Queen Elizabeth, p. 206.*

demned

demned heretic: true! with the greatest and most abominable impiety and hypocrisy, he is desired *for the Love of Almighty God* to do that, which the church herself knows he cannot, and by her public laws has commanded him not to do'. Suppose a *secular Judge* should take this intercession in the literal sense, he would find himself as much mistaken as the sheriff in the reign before us was, who said he could not be compelled to obey such a writ, "for the which thing he was fore troubled (saith Fox) and in danger of his life".

But let me ask. Who was it that first enacted these laws? were they not procured by the instigation of popish bishops and clergy? Who was it in *Mary's* time that revived them? was it not a popish parliament, and popish prelates, with the *Legate* at their head? Who was it that carried these laws into execution? the same popish bishops, who lost no time in this good work; they lighted their fires immediately, and burnt near 300 heretics in about three years. Who was it that made inquisition after these heretics? the same popish bishop and *Legate*. "But the power of

1 Thus their own canonists declare, *Quicquid dicatur, ad hoc fit ista traditio ut puniatur morte. Panormitan. ad cap. novimus 27. Extra. de verb. significat. sect. 8. Solet communiter dici, quod ista intercessio est potius vocalis & colorata quam effectualis. Idem Hortiensis ibid.* both cited by Barlow as above, p. 208.

2 V. 3, p. 838.

the church reaches only to excommunication." Why then did they not stop here? why did they with the most hypocritical farce desire the secular power not to execute that sentence which they themselves ordered it to do, and when they knew the death of the offender was the consequence of his being delivered over to it? Thus the Pope *in his decree of Cranmer's condemnation*, tho' he does not expressly mention burning him, yet *requires the King and Queen to deal with him as the law directs*. What the law did direct, both he and they knew. It is little then to the purpose to tell us, these *penal laws against heretics are not canons of the catholic church*. Whether they make *part either of her faith or discipline*, is of no moment to enquire, since the condemnation of heretics is her constant practice. These rigours, we are told, are no more to be imputed to the catholic church *than the hardships of imprisoned debtors, or the same punishment being assigned to murder and the larceny of five shillings, can be to the church of England*. An illustration this, wide of the point! these are merely civil offenders; the church has nothing to do with them; she neither commits them to prison, nor examines, nor condemns them. Felony, not heresy, is their crime.

Our author must be hard driven, to palliate the cruelties of this reign by such false and pitiful recriminations. We may from hence learn, what we are to expect, if ever such men,

men, with such principles, should again get the government into their hands. The like pretences would not be wanting to revive the same sanguinary laws, or enact others equally rigorous. We should be condemned, *not by the canons of the church, but by the laws of the land.* Some Father Phillips or other would find us guilty of heresy; *but he, good man! would beseech the civil magistrate, for the love of almighty God, not to punish us with death, or loss of limbs.* But notwithstanding this, the popish Prince would think himself obliged *to condemn us to be burnt, according to the laws and customs of the realm, in detestation of our guilt, and for a warning to other Christians* (p. 168).

After this vindication of *the sanguinary and compulsive measures* of this reign, our biographer returns to his *Legate*, who was now possessed of the See of *Canterbury*, to which he was consecrated the very day after his predecessor had suffered at the stake. Mr. P, conscious that this haste might be deemed a reflection upon his hero's character, has with his usual art represented the circumstances of this transaction in such a manner (p. 168, 169), that an unattentive reader would imagine some considerable time passed between the nomination and the consecration. But *Pole* himself did not care to wait so long for *the ornaments of primacy* (p. 169). He had taken care to have all the instruments requisite for his investiture ready prepared, that as

soon as ever *Cranmer* could be conveniently dispatched, he might step into the archbishopric without delay¹.

Some time after, he was honoured with the chancellorship of both universities; to that of *Cambridge* he was elected almost immediately upon his promotion to the primacy. *His thanks to that illustrious body were returned by a very elegant letter* (p.171), which Mr. P, ignorant of the history of the Universities, and the respective times when they admitted *Pole* to those honours, represents as sent to *Oxford*. The editors of the 5th volume of *Pole's* letters unluckily published that letter with this title, *Collegio Oxoniensi*: their hasty, servile copier looked no farther; he contented himself with the information that title gave him, and has adopted the blunder. The above editors, as strangers to our nation, may be excused. But Mr. P. boasts of other documents, and ought to have known better. If he did not take every thing upon trust; could he have referred to the catalogue of the chancellors of *Cambridge*, and after that have made *Pole* compliment the university of *Oxford* for having had *Fisher* and *Gardiner* at the head of

¹ *Illud autem ad æternam immanitatis Pontificiæ memoriam, infamiamque contra Polum valebit, quod eo Legato & accelerante integerrimus doctissimusque archiepiscopus Cranmerus igne crematus est.* These are the words of the successor of *Pole* in the See of *Canterbury*, who could not but know the secret springs of every thing that happened in his reign. *Parker's Antiq. Brit.* p. 357. *Hanovix*, 1605. See also *Burnet*, v. 2. p. 327. and 340.

their

their studies, when that very catalogue would have assured him, that they were his predecessors as chancellors of *Cambridge*? And if he had attentively consulted *Wilkins*, his other authority, and compared dates; he could hardly have made that letter an acknowledgment to the university of *Oxford* for chusing him their chancellor, which was written full seven months before that honour was conferred upon him¹.

A supposed compliment in the preface to the *Oxford* statutes, which our author found in the *Biographia Britannica*², serves him for a fresh occasion of applauding his hero. We would not willingly detract from the praises of *Pole*: but if Mr. P. will take the trouble to consult the preface itself, he will find he hath restrained what relateth to the statutes and manners of the university to the government of *Pole*, and what the preface itself manifestly extends to all the intervening time from the chancellorship of *Wolsey* to that of archbishop *Laud*; by whom the present statutes were finished and settled; which, says the archbishop himself, “cardinal *Wolsey* first, and “after him cardinal *Pool*, assayed, but left as “imperfect as they found them³.”

¹ The Letter which Mr. P. tells us was sent to the University of *Oxford* is dated *Greenwich*, April 1. 1556. And the election of *Pole* to the chancellorship, according to *Wilkins* in the place he refers to, bears date November 2. 1556.

² Article *Pole*, note R.

³ Hist. of his Tryal and Troubles, p. 304.

On this account several candid protestant writers have acknowledged this seat of learning (the university of Oxford) to have flourished more in his time than either under Edward or Elizabeth (p. 172). What these writers say, I know not; no other testimony is produced besides the above preface. Sure I am, the Oxford historian speaks in no such high strain of the flourishing state of the university under *Pole's* government. He tells us, that the university was visited in 1556 by a commission from *Pole* as *Legate*: for he was not elected chancellor till towards the latter end of the year. One of these commissioners was *Ormanett*, a favorite and trusty servant of *Pole's* (p. 189), who is recorded to have behaved with the most intolerable arrogancy. The visitors, as soon as they had opened their commission, exerted their zeal against heresy in a notable manner. They burned all the *English* translations of and comments upon the Bible, and every book they could find written in defence of the reformation, whether kept in public libraries or private studies; and fined or expelled the owners of them. And such strict enquiry did they make after heretics, that they forced them all to fly and abscond. They would also have burned the dead body of the wife of *Peter Martyr*;

‡ In *Ormanetto* nil aliud quam arrogantia intolerabilis eminebat; qua re tam mirifice excellebat, ut ne fingi quidem aut cogitari quicquam possit arrogantius.

Wood Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. 1, p. 279.

but

but here they were at a loss. They could not get full proof of her having maintained any heretical opinions: witnesses were carefully sought after, and examined on that point; but it seems they were scrupulous, and would not attest it upon oath, as they did not understand *German*, the only language she could speak. The important affair was therefore referred to the *Legate*, who resolving in his mind, that both she and her husband had broken their vows of chastity, ordered the body to be removed, lest it should contaminate the ashes of St. *Frideswide*, near whose tomb it had been buried. In obedience to his commands, it was taken out of the holy ground, and, to make some atonement to the Saint for the affront she had received, was thrown into a dunghill¹. These were the feats of the visitors at this place; which, we suppose, were found *necessary for the better regulation of the university* (p. 172).

After these extraordinary proceedings, what was the state of the university the following year? The same author acquaints us the divinity school was shut up. The salary of the *Margaret* professor was applied to the repairs of the schools. There were not found Divines enough to perform the statutable exercises. Hardly one sermon was preached in a month. The public professors either through idleness or ignorance scarcely ever read. The *Greek lan-*

¹ *Id. ib. Biog. Brit. Article Pole. Note R.*

guage was entirely neglected¹. This was the state of learning in the university during the government of *Pole*. It was bad enough in *Edward's* time, but it was now worse. We may form some conjecture of its deplorable condition, and the little encouragement given to learning in *Mary's* days, from hence; that during her whole reign, there proceeded only three Inceptors or Doctors in divinity, eleven in law, and six in physic; and proportionably few in Art. There were indeed some of eminence in logical and philosophical knowledge; — but it was remarked, that many who promised well at first, by pride, and indulgence in eating and drinking, made themselves quite stupid; and lost their ability with their diligence². This is *Wood's* account how little *this Seat of learning flourished* under the auspices of *Pole*. — He tells us further, how very soon the scene changed, when the glorious successor of *Mary* promised to be a friend to learning and the universities³. She performed her word: by her encouragement, a spirit of learning and emulation revived; the university recovered its ancient splendor. Its fame and reputation were even raised to an height unknown before by the labours and abilities of those illustrious worthies, who, opening all the stores of knowledge, reflected

1 *Id. ib.* p. 280.

2 *Id. ib.* p. 280, 281.

3 *Id. ib.* p. 281. *A. D.* 1558,

honor upon the place of their education', and were so many ornaments not only to their country but also to human nature.

Some few, civil, complimentary letters having passed between *Pole* and *Ignatius of Loyola* the founder of the order of the *Jesuits* (p. 173); our biographer takes occasion to censure bishop *Burnet* and others, who have asserted the Legate's disapprobation of this order, and his opposing its establishment amongst us (p. 174). To confound these shufflers, and to remove popular prejudices against the character of that celebrated personage *Ignatius* (p. 173), our author produces his documents. All that we learn from them is what follows. *Ignatius* wrote to *Pole*, "to congratulate him upon the reduction of *England* to the catholic faith: he gave an account of the flourishing state of his society, and offered to admit into it any young *English* gentlemen he would recommend to him". The Legate in his answer replied to every other part of *Ignatius's* letter, but took not any the least notice of this offer¹. In another letter to the same Saint, he expressed a general regard for him and his society, — but still was silent as to this particular². In a letter of condolance, which he wrote afterwards to *Laines* upon the death of *Ignatius*, he recom-

¹ *Id. ib.* p. 289, 290.

² *Quirini*, v. 5, p. 117.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 119.

⁴ *Id. ib.* p. 120.

mends himself to the prayers of him and his society; but not a word is there mentioned of encouraging the order, or inviting any of it into *England*¹. These are all the *documents* relating to this affair. Mr. P. however ventures, upon the strength of these slight, trifling *minutes*, to call bishop *Burnet's* relation a *shuffling article* (p. 147, note): but he hath not offered any arguments to prove it so. The bishop hath named his authority for what he said²; and other writers have confirmed his accounts. From them it appears, that the *Jesuits* unfortunately made use of a wrong expedient to prevail upon the *Legate* to admit their *establishment amongst us*: they represented the *benedictines* as a burthen to the public, and wanted to obtain their suppressed monasteries for themselves. *Pole*, who was the patron of the *Benedictine Order* (1st pt. pag. 460), would not listen to their proposals, rejected their offer with indignation, and would neither employ them, nor allow them to come into *England*. This provoked the society against him so highly, that they ever after considered him as their mortal enemy³.

Mr. P. might have passed by in silence the above epistolary correspondence between *Ig-*

¹ *Ib. id.*

² An *Italian MS.* found in *Venice* by Mr. *Crawford*, chaplain to the *English Envoy* at that place, v. 2, p. 328.

³ *Histoire des religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, v. 1. p. 182 --- 184. *Rafiel de Selva's* life of *Ignatius*, Eng. Tr. v. 2, p. 33, 34.

natus and *Pole*, if his only motive for relating it was to give us a different idea of the former from what we entertained before. Excepting that we hereby get a fresh instance of the vanity and impertinence of that enterprising, extravagant enthusiast, I believe, our ideas of him will still continue just the same: and so will they of his society too, notwithstanding the encomiums here bestowed upon it. He has given us his reasons why he makes mention of *Ignatius*. But why was that fanatic *Francis Xavier* introduced? plainly, to display the uncommon gifts (p. 177) of that truly Jesuitical Saint. Now, since Mr. P. has gone out of the way to do him honour, we also will throw in our mite, and stop a little to record one gift with which he was endowed, uncommon enough in a certain order of men. He was able to express his real sentiments without equivocation or disguise: of this he gave a notable example, when he avowed (I doubt not with much honesty and sincerity) that “missionaries without muskets” “do never make converts to any purpose.”

1 *Geddes's Church hist. of Ethiopia*, preface, p. 2.

AN I-

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE ELEVENTH.

WHILST *Pole* was busily engaged in the exercise of his Legantine jurisdiction, in compleating the reunion of his country with the catholic church, and destroying that pestilential brood of heretics which had infected it; he was surprized with information from *Rome*, that the Pope had deprived him of all the powers belonging to his office. *Paul IV.* was engaged in a war with *Philip of Spain King of England*, which was either the cause or the pretext for a rupture between *France and Spain* (p. 178). The *English Legate* very imprudently presuming to offer his advice, and to express his wishes for an accommodation, awakened in the Pope's breast an ancient malevolence he had entertained against him (p. 180). He knew him ever devoted to the interests of *Spain*. He wanted a *Legate* at the court of *England*, like himself, vigorous and resolute; who by taking the
lead

lead in council, and gaining the Queen's confidence, might prevent her from engaging in her husband's quarrels. So long as *Pole* remained in that station, he was apprehensive, that by his instigation she might enter into alliances destructive to his politics. In spite therefore of every remonstrance and solicitation to the contrary, he nominated another *Legate*, and reduced *Pole* to the humble state of an ordinary bishop.

Considering the many eminent services the *English* cardinal had rendered the See of *Rome*, he might have hoped for better usage from her supreme pontiff: not that, we think, the injury or the oppression he met with from the Pope could possibly be called *the severest crucible in which heaven tries and refines the purest virtue* (p. 178); or that he shewed that *fortitude, heroism, and greatness of soul* (p. 170) which Mr. P. talks of, in *bearing up under such an oppression*; for he remonstrated as strongly as he could to the Pope and to others against it. After all, what did he lose? was it life, liberty, or estate? nothing like it. These were the *crucibles in which* he himself *tried and refined the virtues of others*. By this resentment of the Pope he lost nothing more, than a little outward pomp and shew: the *silver cross* (p. 89) was not carried before him, and the other ornaments of the *Legate's* office were dropt. But if, as we are told, *the manner in which he exercised that office put him to a considerable expence*; and every department of it

it was served without fees (p. 228); he might perhaps in one respect be a gainer. He had, besides the revenues of the See of *Canterbury*, a pension allotted him of 1500 pounds upon the bishoprick of *Winchester* (p. 228), which, as he “practised the principles of *Italian* thrift,” would sufficiently answer all his expences as primate, and afford him noble opportunities of doing good with that income.

The cardinal however did not relish this diminution of his greatness; he drew up a justification of himself; but perceiving it would be unfavorable to the Pope's reputation, he threw it into the fire (p. 205): thus his duty got the better of his resentment. His champion has no such squeamish scruples; he is not inclined to hide his father's ignominy (p. 226), but revenges the injuries his hero received from this imperious pontiff, by giving the reader the entertainment and instruction of his character, . . . whose malevolence to the English cardinal seems, he says, in a great measure, to have been founded in the indulgence of a ruling passion, and in the total opposition of dispositions which was caused by it (p. 197, note). We will not interfere in this quarrel between his Holiness and our cardinal. Mr. P. is welcome to make as free with the character of *Paul IV.*, or any other of the infallible heads of his church, as he pleaseth. Only we cannot help laying before the reader

1 *Fuller's Church Hist.* b. 8, p. 41.

a fresh instance of our author's disingenuity in the note, where the long detail of this Pope's character is drawn up : which, except two or three sentences taken out of one of *Pole's* letters, and referred to (p. 200) is extracted, as we have before observed, ¹ out of *Gratiani de casibus illustrium virorum*. To elude detection, every artifice is employed ; the order observed by *Gratiani* is frequently broken, and his narration transposed : to prevent any suspicion of this deceit, a sentence is openly quoted from him in the body of the note (p. 198) ; and he is referred to at the conclusion of it, not as furnishing the whole account, (which he in fact doth) but only as a confirming evidence, together with others, to support that narration which Mr. *P.* would impose upon us for his own.

Upon the Queen's vigorous interposition, who made the restoring the Legantine jurisdiction to *Pole* a national affair ², and by his own submissive behaviour, his Holiness re-

¹ P. 44.

² If Mr. *P.* had not been afraid of trifling with the misrepresentations of writers of some note. (pref. p. x.) he might have illustrated this article with some documents, which that faithful, accurate and valuable historian Mr. *Strype* has preserved concerning it : who has inserted in his memorials of the reformation, the substance of that letter which *Pole* sent by *Ormanet* to the Pope ; as also remonstrances from the King and the Queen, from the council or parliament, and from the nobility, to the Pope, to dissuade him from the revocation of the *Legate's* powers. Mem. v. 3, p. 392 ---- 398. Records, p. 231 ---- 237.

lented; he connived at his continuing to exercise that office, and would doubtless have formally reinstated him in it; as he declared, that when peace was made between him and *Philip*, he would send his nephew cardinal *Caraffa* to settle this matter both with the King, and with *Pole* ¹. The pleasure which the cardinal received from this information, was soon interrupted by the death of the Queen of *England*.

She had been for some time in a declining state of health, which was increased by great uneasiness of mind. She found herself hated by her subjects, despised by her enemies, slighted by her husband, unsuccessful in peace, unfortunate in war, and distressed at home: these reflections preyed upon her spirits, and brought on a slow fever of which she died, after a short and inglorious reign: “every
“dreary year of which was blackened by re-
“markable disasters, and by such acts of in-
“justice, rapine, violence, oppression, and
“tyranny, as *Spanish* councils only could have
“suggested: and, having reduced the nation
“to the brink of ruin, she left it, by her
“seasonable decease, to be restored by her ad-
“mirable successor to its ancient prosperity
“and glory ².”

As most of our modern historians have either not allowed or misrepresented the laudable qua-

¹ *Vit. Poli*, p. 47. *Pallav. L.* 14. c. 2. n. 6.

² *Carte*, v. 3, p. 354.

lities of this Princess, &c. (p. 208); and because the candour of protestant historians has fully justified her much injured character, I shall content my self, says Mr. P, with copying it from these originals, and almost in their own words (p. 209). An ingenious way this truly! to justify the much injured character of this Princess, by selecting a few passages from a few historians, wherein some of her private good qualities are candidly acknowledged, and by suppressing others, which would bear hard upon her memory. All the authorities, (except that of Sir R. Baker) which Mr. P. hath referred to (p. 210, note) in behalf of her *laudable qualities* (p. 208) Mr. Dod had already collected before him, and almost in the same words¹. If instead of contenting himself with that author's disfigured copy of those originals, he had inspected the historians there quoted, he would hardly have appealed to any of them as *justifiers of the Queen's much injured character*; and would have found, that though their *candour* induced them to speak tenderly of her religious and merciful disposition, yet their regard to truth obliged them at the same time to own her weakness and bigotry, and to dwell, at large, on the failings of her government².

¹ Church history, v. 1, p. 464.

² That the reader may judge for himself, whether the sentiments of these writers are fairly and fully represented or no, by Mr. Dod and Mr. P, let him inspect their histories, and then determine. v. Collier, v. 2, p. 406. Camden's

The concurrent testimony of our historians represent this reign as the most disgraceful in the *English* annals, and the death of the Queen as a fortunate event. From what we have observed before, her religion was the religion of a bigot, well meant, but ill-directed. Her private life, however, it may be said, was strict and unblemished; but will this excuse the guilt of that persecuting spirit, which, effacing the natural tenderness of her sex, taught her to look upon the killing of heretics as doing God service? From this principle, it was, that she forgot every call to compassion, and every sentiment of gratitude. *Noailles*, in his negotiations, describes her, as one who gave herself up entirely to chagrin and melancholy. He tells us, that in the absence of her husband, she spent her time in tears, in complaints, and in writing to him, and in anger against her subjects; that she was suspicious of the nobility, and even of her council, and hardly knew whom to trust'. — That she vented her spleen and resentment for the flights she received from the King, by making great numbers feel the cruel rigour of justice, and die by the fire and the sword². By this behaviour, and the absurd plan of politics pursued throughout this reign, the Queen lost

den's Introduction to the Annals of Q. Elizabeth, p. 10. Fuller's ch. hist. b. 8, p. 42. Sir R. Baker's chronicle, p. 324. Echard, p. 327.

¹ *Ambassades des Noailles*, v. 5, p. 362.

² *Id. ib.* p. 370.

the

the love and affection of her subjects ; who considered her death as their deliverance from the wanton tyranny of persecutors and strangers, who made this reign memorable only for the calamities, cruelties and misfortunes of it.

Cardinal *Pole* barely survived the Queen : the same day put an end to both their lives. Some few days before his death, *he wrote a letter* (says Mr. *P*) to her (p. 210). If our biographer had consulted the *English* historians upon this article, they would have assured him, that this letter was not written to her, but to the Princess *Elizabeth*, that, as the Queen's recovery was despaired of, and she herself likely soon to succeed to the crown, she might harbour no resentment against him for the ill usage she had met with¹. This letter we may conclude was well received ; for the new Queen not only permitted the cardinal, according to his desire in his will, to be buried at *Canterbury*, and, at the request of his executor, allowed two bishops to attend the funeral ; but also ordered letters

¹ See *Collier*, v. 2, Records, p. 88, N^o. 75, and *Strype*, Hist. v. 1, p. 50 ; who have given this letter in the cardinal's own words : and so have the editors of the 5th vol. of *Pole's* letters, p. 275. But these foreigners, following Mr. *Hearne's* mistake, (from whose collection of letters inserted at the end of his edition of *Livy of Friuli's* life of *Henry V*, they took it,) having put this title to it, *Epistola Cardinalis Poli ad Mariam Reginam Angliæ*, our author copied their blunder : tho' the subject matter of the letter plainly signifies to which Queen it was written.

from the privy council to be issued out for the better recovery of all debts and arrears due to him at the time of his decease¹; that every thing might be settled to the satisfaction of his executor, and that he might not leave the kingdom, but with the strongest proofs of the court's attention to justice, honour, and equity.

¹ *Strype's history*, v. i, p. 37, 38.

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE TWELFTH.

WE are now come to our biographer's concluding section, in which he professes to *draw, as it were, to one point, and represent in an uninterrupted view those particular virtues which distinguished the several parts of his hero's life* (p. 217). Here, therefore, we might have expected some masterly strokes of his own pencil: but the same piece of patch-work which marks all the former parts of his performance is continued in this recapitulation of it. There is scarce a circumstance, tho' ever so minute, which is not taken from the foreign writers of the cardinal's life: to escape indeed the pursuit of his reader, Mr. P. leaps from one article to another; and gives himself the trouble to transpose some of their sentences, not to present us with any of his own observations, but only the better to puzzle the scent. He does however, to save his credit in case of detection, vouchsafe, in
one

one or two places, to refer to them, as his authorities, for a few particulars: whereas, in fact, almost every remark through this summary of the cardinal's character is deduced from them, the phrase and arrangement only a little varied¹.

We have seen in the course of this work, how violently our *English* historian's prejudices have hurried him beyond the bounds of truth, decency, and impartiality. *The strength of the impression*, which he felt in favor of his all accomplished original, has really *raised him to a strain, which sobriety of thought cannot always approve* (pref. p. vi); and undoubtedly flattered him, he should *be able to draw his readers into the same vortex* (ib. p. vii). That they may not be absorbed in it, we have endeavoured to consider the character of cardinal *Pole*, as we have found him represented in the general history of the *epoch* in which he lived, and in *the truest copy of himself, his epistolary intercourse* (ib. p. xi), and other writings, which are said to be *the faithful messengers of his heart* (ib. p. xii). From these, have we formed our opinion of him: and having attended his modern historian throughout his work; we will, after his example, conclude with some remarks upon the character of his hero, from the review we have taken of his life.

¹ *Vit. Poli*, from p. 51. to the end.

At his first introduction into public life, he cultivated an intimate acquaintance with *Bembo*, *Longolius*, and other *Italian* critics, who distinguished themselves by the affectation of using no word or phrase, which was not to be found in *Cicero*: from them he caught that verboseness observable in all his compositions, in which the poverty of his sentiments is disguised by a cloud of words. When a metaphor falls in his way, he gives it no rest, but dwells upon it in such a manner, as to bewilder his reader almost as much as himself. Were we not fully convinced of his piety, we should be apt to censure him as a profane perverter of scripture; for he is ever blending it with his own language, and impertinently and personally applying it, as his fancy leads him, upon every occasion.

His opposition to *Henry's* divorce and supremacy, loses all the merit of proceeding from principle and conscience, from the manner in which he expressed it. Forgetting all the duty and obligation he owed to the King of *England*, he descended to the lowest and coarsest invectives against him; and never scrupled to engage in any design against his sovereign, and his country. His zeal sanctified all such actions; and made him esteem them meritorious, as undertaken in support of the cause of Christ, and his religion.

There is no part of his character more amiable than when we view him in his retirements, and in the social intercourses with
private

private friends : here he appeared to great advantage, and displayed all the endearing good qualities of the polite scholar, the chearful companion, and the sincere friend. His fame would have been handed down to posterity with undiminished lustre, if he had never engaged in the turbulent, active scenes of life ; for which he either was not designed by nature, or had rendered himself unfit by indulging an indolent and timid disposition. His rank and station indeed frequently forced him upon public employments, in which he seldom answered the high opinion conceived of him. At the two councils of *Trent*, where he presided as one of the Pope's *Legates*, nothing memorable or material is recorded of him ; no traces are to be found of his vigour and activity. He left the second council, pleading his ill state of health, before any of the most interesting articles were debated, to the great regret of his colleagues, who were displeased at his departure. That we are not mistaken in thus charging cardinal *Pole* with indolence and inactivity ; let us consider what his behaviour was in *England*, when invested with his Legantine powers. He bewailed indeed the sins of the nation, he reunited it to the papal church, and absolved it from the grievous crime of heresy : this he could not help doing himself : but he did nothing further belonging to his spiritual jurisdiction ; he neither ordained, nor consecrated ; nor did he visit, even his own small diocese, or his peculiar ;

liars; but performed all these branches of his duty by commission'. His pen, however, was not idle: he was perpetually employed in writing volumes of canons, articles, injunctions, and letters. He could be active enough upon paper: and here all his vigour spent itself.

Much is said by his panegyrist in praise of his *remarkable mildness, and his lenient arts, to those who dissented from the doctrine of his church*: and *Dr. Burnet's extorted concession* is produced in confirmation of this assertion (p. 232). It is true, that prelate had once a favorable opinion of the cardinal's mildness: but upon further examination, he retracted that *concession*, and owned "he found, that "*Pole* was not so mild, as he had represented "*him*." No colouring can disguise, no excuses can palliate, his insolent and inhuman behaviour to *Cranmer* and *Cheke*. His zeal was not satisfied with the persecution of the living heretics, as he called them: it was exerted also beyond the grave. Being the *Legate* of the fancied successor of *St. Peter*, he seems to have imagined, that he had the power, by the help of *Peter's* keys, to open the doors of purgatory; and he attempted to exercise it, but it was not with the charitable intent of freeing any souls from their imaginary confinement, but to thrust them, if possible, from thence into hell. We have already considered

1 *Strype Mem.* v. 3, p. 454.

2 *Burnet*, v. 3, p. 261.

one singular instance of wanton barbarity acted, by his orders, at *Oxford*, upon the dead body of the wife of *Peter Martyr*. He who formerly reproached *Henry VIII*, for his sacrilege in disturbing the ashes of *Thomas a Becket*, now closely followed his example, and sent his commissioners to *Cambridge*, to take up, and burn for heresy, the dead bodies of *Bucer* and *Fagius*, two reforming divines, who had been professors in that university, the one of Divinity, the other of Hebrew: what the *Legate* commanded, his Delegates performed.

After these instances of frantic zeal, may not the mildness and humanity of *Pole* be called in question? if not: can those religious principles which impelled him to act so contrary to those amiable virtues, to his naturally good disposition, be too much abhorred and detested! How noble, in comparison of this furious bigotry, was the behaviour of the Emperor *Charles V.* who, when he had taken the town of *Wittemberg*, in which the body of that heresiarch *Luther* was buried, not only resisted the importunities of the bigots around him, to dig up his body and burn it; but also protected it from their insults; and silenced their clamours by this christian, generous reply, Let him alone, let him rest to the day of the resurrection, and the judgment of all men!

1 *Hernschmidii Vit. Luth.* p. 252. *Adamus*, p. 162.

A veil is thrown upon these actions of *Pole* which I have been relating, in the panegyric narrative before us : and others of the same tendency are flurred over with this apology, that they were *the result of his deference to the laws and constitutions of his country, which did not allow him to strain the tender strings of government, nor exert an undue authority on any pretext whatever* (p. 132). Whereas *Pole*, by the general powers given him for reconciling the nation to the church of *Rome*, was invested with a plenitude of authority over temporal, as well as ecclesiastical courts : he had it therefore in his power to be as mild and merciful as he pleased. But he had so terrible a notion of heresy, that he seemed to look upon it as an unpardonable crime : it was this prevailing bias, which led him to some ill-natured and harsh severities against the poor sufferers for religion, at the time of their execution ; and to some uncharitable reflections upon their fortitude under it. Thus he writes to a nameless bishop ; “ that
 “ some of the heretics did as much harm to
 “ the people by their deaths as by their lives :
 “ a preacher therefore, he says, should be provided against the time of their sufferings,
 “ who should declare the occasion of their
 “ death, their wicked life and obstinacy, and
 “ the pains taken to bring them to repentance : . . . that by these means an act of
 “ compassion may to the last be offered to the
 “ heretics, and the people rescued from the
 “ danger

“ danger of that offence, they so easily fall
 “ into, when, without a preacher to declare
 “ this, they only see the constancy of a wretch-
 “ ed person in suffering torment, and do not
 “ perceive, under this false appearance of pie-
 “ ty and resolution, the power and cunning
 “ of the Devil ‘.” Thus he also writes to
 King *Philip*; and informs him, that Father
Soto had been with the two condemned he-
 retics at *Oxford*, (*Ridley* and *Latimer* he means)
 one of whom would not so much as speak to
 him; that with the other he had some con-
 versation, but to no effect: by which, saith
 the mild and christian *Pole*, it is manifest that
 no one can save those whom God hath re-
 jected, and therefore (he adds,) they say the
 people beheld their execution with pleasure,
 when they understood that nothing was omit-
 ted which could contribute to their Salva-
 tion ².

The *patriot* spirit of *Pole* would have been
 signally displayed; if he had either restrained,
 or remonstrated against these rigours: instead
 of that, he encouraged them; he did not in-
 deed condemn any himself to the stake; but
 his officers did it for him. His suffragan, and
 his archdeacon, are said to have poured out
 blood like water ³; and one of the last acts
 of authority he was concerned in, was to de-

¹ *Quirini*, v. 5. *Ep. Poli Episcopo* . . . p. 88.

² *Id. ib.* *Ep. Poli Philippo regi*, p. 47.

³ *Heylin*, p. 56. *Fuller's Church hist.* b. 8, p. 18.

liver over five heretics, whom they had condemned, to the civil magistrate for execution: in consequence of this, they were burnt at *Canterbury* about a week before his death. Two or three instances are, indeed, recorded of his clemency; but they cannot clear him from the guilt of that blood, which was shed by commissions immediately granted by him; when he had it in his power to have mitigated these severities, if his inclination to spare and to save had been as great as his authority.

We find also as few traces of patriotism in the cardinal, either as an Englishman or a statesman. He was the principal instrument to reduce this church and kingdom to the slavery of that spiritual tyrant, against whose enormous exorbitances, the free spirit of our ancestors had from time to time made such public and parliamentary remonstrances. As a statesman, he was always devoted to the *Spanish* faction, was made a cardinal by the Emperor's sollicitation, and supported by his interest and influence in the contest for the papacy. At his return into *England*, he was observed to have adopted the reserve and stateliness of his foreign acquaintance, to converse almost entirely with them, and to have very little connection with his own countrymen. He might, indeed, have put in his *claim to the title of a patriot* (p. 230); if, like his much injured predecessor, he had opposed all councils prejudicial to the honour of his country,

try, and had behaved with the same open firmness. as *Cranmer* did upon every occasion. We should then have heard, of his dissuading those ministerial measures which prevailed whilst *he was at the head of the council* (p. 232,) and were not only detrimental to the interest of the kingdom, but also contrary to all the principles of humanity, and in direct violation of the laws of christianity. Nothing like this is related of him: he acquiesced in every thing: and even in religious matters, which were more peculiarly his department, he suffered rigours to be exercised (p. 232) which he entirely disapproved of. He cannot, therefore, in any respect, be considered as a *patriot*; but as one whose indolence and timidity rendered him the tool of others, who were more violent, ambitious and designing, than himself.

A just regard to the truth of history has constrained us thus to censure the actions of cardinal *Pole*. But notwithstanding this; we are not blind to his real merits; the excellency of his morals, the natural goodness of his heart, and the piety of his disposition, are cheerfully confessed; his behaviour in his last moments shewed, that his religion, though ill-directed, was sincere and genuine. It is with pleasure we can take our leave of him by a fair and favorable acknowledgment of his virtue and piety. We are sorry to think, so well meaning and so good a man should labour under such inveterate prejudices: and that, to spare his character, those allowances must

must be made for his conduct, which he, with all his lenity and good nature, knew not how to grant to any who differed from him.

His good name and reputation have hitherto been tenderly treated : his biographer hath occasioned them to be more minutely examined. How they will bear this enquiry, let him look to it, who hath thus disturbed his ashes, and made the elogium of his hero the vehicle of scornfully traducing the religion of his country, of insulting the memory of those worthies who are so justly dear to it, and of recommending those horrid intolerant principles, which enforced the naturally mild and easy *Pole* to become an inquisitor and a persecutor. — The cruelties, however, which were so wantonly exercised by him and others, in their day of power, have been attended with many providentially good effects, which are still felt amongst us : they discovered the true sanguinary spirit of popery ; they promoted the cause of the reformation, and excited in our ancestors, the utmost indignation against and contempt for that religion, which took inhuman methods to preserve its establishment. The blood of the martyrs proved the seed of the protestant church : many, who in the beginning of *Mary's* reign were rigid papists, were converted by the cruel executions, and patient sufferings of those whom they saw condemned to the flames for no crime ; but only for conscience sake : and some made an atonement for their former

blindness and superstition, and died in defence of that religion they had before opposed. By these means, to use the words of the venerable, expiring *Latimer*, such a candle was lighted in *England*, as, we trust, by God's grace shall never be extinguished.

T H E E N D.

A P P E N D I X.

N U M B E R I.

Some remarks upon Mr. *Phillips's* history,
&c. communicated by the Reverend Dr.
Jortin.

Reverend Sir,

THE *Life of Pole*, by Mr. *Phillips*, is a performance which, in my opinion, forebodes no evil at all to our Church and State: yet it deserves to be examined and confuted. Such sort of Writers have given occasion to excellent answers, and furnished materials for the *Stillingfleets*, the *Tillotsons*, &c.

Much such a work as this, in some respects, was *The Life of Wolfey*, written at a critical time by our *Fiddes* a *Protestant-Papist* (the expression is as proper at least as *Roman-Catholic*) to prepare us for Popery and the Pretender; a Book which had no other effect than to expose the Author and his Patrons.

The invectives of Mr. *P.* against *Erasmus*, with whose works he seems to be entirely unacquainted, and whom he represents as a wretch void of all religion, are the scum and dregs of the accusations which Blockheads, Bigots, Fanatics, and Hypocrites have plentifully thrown out.

There are writers of the *Romish* Communion, who have treated *Erasmus* with decency and candor, as *Thuanus*, *Du Pin*, *Richard*, *Marsollier*, &c. But Mr. *P.* chuses rather to associate himself with the other *Fraternity*; and it is fit that he should have his choice.

Amongst the Articles recommended by him to our belief, are these;

The sanctity of *Thomas Becket*, and the numerous miracles wrought by his Reliques, which according to *Bossuet*, are so well attested as to exclude all doubt; and then for the character of *Bossuet*, we are referred to Lord *Bolingbroke*, that incomparable judge of literary and theological merit:

The authority of our countryman *Sanders*, a man so famous for *veracity*, that if Captain *Lemuel Gulliver* had not supplanted him, we might use the proverbial phrase, *It is true as if Sanders had said it.*

APPENDIX.

The merits of *Ignatius Loyola*, whom his unkind contemporaries left to ramble about at large; though it is to be supposed that in those days, as well as in these, there were houses fitted up for the reception of such as he:

The inspiration of the *Fathers at Trent*; on which article of faith we will meet him half-way; for we all allow them to have been inspired — by his Holiness.

Pref. p. ix. "*Duditius*, Bishop of *Tune*."

He was Bishop of *Knin* (*Tininium*) in *Croatia*.

P. 98. "*Bunet*."

So he calls *Bunellus*, famous for his pure latinity.

P. 259, 260. "The *Lutherans* insisted upon changes in religion, which, as *Procopius* a Pagan writer observes, on account of the *absolute singleness* of its system, admits of none."

In the margin he puts, *simplex & absoluta*.

This curious piece of erudition deserves singular notice.

He calls *Procopius* a Pagan. He should not have ventured out of his depth, and passed his judgment upon an Author of whom he knows just nothing at all.

La Motte Le Vayer, *Eichelius*, *Alemannus*, and *Cave* have suspected *Procopius* of Paganism, or of Atheism; but he hath been defended by *Cousin*, his *French* Translator, and by *Fabricius*, *Bibl. Gr.* vi. 248. More may be said in his behalf than they have urged; and I will at any time undertake to prove that the arguments produced in support of this heavy charge against him are altogether inconclusive.

Mr. P. gives us *simplex & absoluta* as the words of *Procopius*; whence we may collect that he takes him for a *Latin* writer. I can assure him that *Procopius* wrote in *Greek*. If he will not believe me, he may ask his Bookseller.

But unfortunately, these words, wheresoever he picked them up, are not the words of *Procopius*: they are the property of another author, a *Latin* Historian and a Pagan, of *Ammianus Marcellinus*; and so little do they serve the purposes of Popery, that he ought by no means to have produced them, and helped himself to a slap on the face.

Marcellinus blames the Emperor *Constantius* for having made himself the Head of a Party, in the theological Squabbles of those days, instead of quieting the combatants; and observes that the Christians, by their frivolous contentions, and false refinements, darkened and perplexed a Religion which in itself was *complete and simple*. He adds that the public Revenues suffered not a little by supplying the Prelates with Post Chaises for their everlasting journeys to their Synods and Councils.

"*Constantius Christianam religionem absolutam & simplicem anili superstitione confundens, in qua scrutanda perplexius quam*

com-

APPENDIX.

componenda gravias, excitavit dissidia plurima, quæ progressa fusus aluit concertatione verborum: ut catervis Antistitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus, per Synodos quas appellant, dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conatur arbitrium, rei vehiculariæ succideret nervos." XXI. 16.

The same honest Historian, speaking of a worthless Prelate, says that he did not learn his practice from his religion, — *quæ nihil nisi justum suadet & lene.* XXII. 11.

Significant words, which for the benefit of some people we will explain; — A religion which allows no sham miracles, no pious frauds and forgeries, no compulsion of conscience, no Inquisitions, no racks and tortures to stretch a scanty faith to a proper length, no violation of safe-conducts, no godly massacres, no burning of heretics, no doing to others what we would not that they should do to us.

What would this Author have said to the *perfect simplicity* of the *Papal System*, and of the decrees of the Council of *Trent*?

"*The Lutherans*, quoth he, insisted upon changes in religion." Changes in *Popery*, if you please. The *Lutherans* wanted to abolish all changes and innovations, and to restore Christianity, as nearly as they could, to its original state. For example; they desired to have the Communion administered in both kinds, which had been the known practice of the Church for the first thousand years; and multitudes of *Romanists*, to do them justice, earnestly desired the same. But the Court of *Rome* and its Creatures would not consent.

If they had fully and freely granted the Cup to the Laity, and marriage to the Clergy, it might have been an ugly blow to *Lutheranism*: but by refusing to give up any thing, how absurd soever, and by attempting to prevail with the help of their old supporters, *Fire and Fagot*, they effectually established the Reformation.

Since that revolution, the Pope is the shadow of what he once was; he is *Lucan's Oak*;

— *Stat magni nominis Umbra.*

Qualis frugifero quercus sublimis in agro,

Exuvias veteres populi, sacrataque gestans

Dona ducum; nec jam validis radicibus hærens,

Pondere fixa suo est; nudosque per aëra ramos

Effundens, trunco, non frondibus, efficit umbram.

l. 135.

P. 251. "Pole put the Emperor in mind of *Josias*, whose "naval force was destroyed, and who was told by a Prophet; "because thou hast entered into a league with a man who has "done so many ungodly actions, therefore God has destroyed "thy fleet."

Pole

APPENDIX.

Pole and his Panegyrist (to borrow a phrase from *Shakespear*) had not *prayed their Pible well*. For *Josias* had no fleet to lose: it was *Jehosaphat*. 2 *Chron.* xx. 35 — 37.

An *English* Papist, writing with a view to excite in us a favourable opinion of himself and his party, undertakes a difficult task, which requires singular qualifications. He should shew in his works a spirit of moderation, candor, ingenuity, sincerity, fairness, impartiality, humanity and charity. *France* hath produced some Authors of that communion, who have some kind of claim to this character: but hardly shall you find such amongst the Papists of *England, Ireland, Flanders, Spain, Portugal, and Italy*. He should also have a tolerable share of learning and knowledge, and not be a mere borrower from others, and a Brother of the Religious order of *Mendicants*.

GIVE me leave, Sir, to take the opportunity of concluding these pages with a remark upon myself.

In the second Volume of the *Life of Erasmus*, p. 140 I gave a specimen of the pronunciation of the *modern Greeks*, in which there is a mistake, which I overlooked, till it was too late to rectify it. It is in the diphthong *α*, which is not sounded by them like *αφ*, but like the *Latin* vowel *u*. The lines from *Homer* should therefore be written thus, putting the *Latin u* for the *α*.

Μινιν αῖδε Θεα Παιναδω Αχλιν
 Υλομινιν, ἰ μινι' Αχέϊς αλγε' εδικε,
 Πολλας δ' ἰφθιμους ψυχας αῖδε παλαιας, &c.

JOHN JORTIN

APPENDIX.

NUMBER II.

A Letter from the Princess ELIZABETH to
Queen MARY, referred to p. 461. and 485.

The Author was mistaken in saying [p. 485.] that the original of this letter is extant in the *British Museum*, whereas it is found in the Paper-Office, as he has been since informed by Dr. Birch.

IF any ever did try this olde saynge, that a King's worde was more than another man's othe, I most humbly beseeche your M. to verifie it in me, and to remember your last promise, and my last demaunde, that I be not condemned without answer and due proofe, wiche it semes, that now I am; for that without cause provid, I am by your counsel frome you commanded to go unto the *Tower*, a place more wonted for a false Traitor, than a tru subject, wiche, thogh, I know, I deserve it not, yet in the face of al this Realme aperes, that it is provid; wiche I pray God I may dy the shamefullist deth, that ever any died, afore I may mene any suche thinge; and to this present hower I protest asfor God (who shal juge my trueth) what soever malice shal devise) that I never practised, conciled, nor consentid to any thinge, that might be prejudicial to your parson any way, or daungerous to the State by any mene; and therfor I humbly beseeche your Majestie to let me answer afore your Selfe, and not suffer me to trust your counselors; yea and that afore I go to the *Tower* (if it be possible) if not asfor I be further condemned, howbeit I trust assuredly your Highnes wyl give me leve to do it asfor I go; for that thus shamefully I may not be cried out on, as now I shal be; yea and without cause let consciens move your highnes to take some bettar way with me, than to make me be condemned in al men's sight afore my desert knownen. Also I most humbly beseeche your Highnes to pardon this my boldnes, wiche innocency procures me to do, together with hope of your natural kindnis, wiche I trust wyl not seme cast away without desert; wiche what it is, I wold desire no more of God, but that you truly knew: wiche thinge I thinke and beleve you shal never by report knowe, unles by your Selfe you hire. I have harde in my time of many cast away for want of comminge to the presence of their Prince; and in late days I harde my Lorde of *Somerset* say, that if his Brother had bine suffered to speke with him, he had never suffered; but the persuasions

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swasions wer made to him so gret, that he was brogth in belese, that he coulde not live safely, if the admiral lived; and that made him give his consent to his Dethe. Thogth Thes parsons ar not to be compared to your Majestie, yet I pray God as ivel perswasions perswade not one Sistar against the other, and al for that the have harde false report, and not harkene to the trueth knowen. Therfor ons again kniling with humblenes of of my hart, bicause I am not sufferd to bow the knees of my body, I humbly crave to speke with your hightnis, wiche I wolde not be so bold to desire, if I knewe not my selfe most clere, as I knowe my selfe most tru. And as for the Traitor *Wiat*, he mighth paraventur writ me a lettar; but on my faithe I never receved any from him; and as for the copie of my letter sent to the *Frenche* Kinge, I pray God confound me eternally, if ever I sent him word, message, token or letter, by any menes; and to this my truith I wil stande in to my Dethe.

I humbly crave but only one worde

of answer from your Selve.

Your Highnes most faithful Subject,

that hathe bine from the beginninge, and wyl be to my end,

ELIZABETH.



Neve, Timothy

Animadversions upon Phillips's history of the life of Cardinal Pole

Oxford 1766

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